File 1 - Recruiting, Work, and Repatriation



File 2 - Government and Mission Action

File 3 - Island Events

Fiji
Samoa
Niue
Tonga - Ata
Tonga - Niuafo'ou
Cook Islands - Tongareva
Cook Islands - Manihiki
Cook Islands - Rakahanga
Cook Islands - Pukapuka
Cook Islands - Atiu
Cook Islands - Rarotonga
Cook Islands - Mangaia
Austral Islands - Rapa
Marquesas - General
Tuamotus - General
Gambier Islands - Mangareva
Gilbert Islands - General
Ellice Islands - General
Ellice Islands - Funafuti
Ellice Islands - Nukulaelae
Tokelau Islands - General
Tokelau Islands - Fakaofo
Tokelau Islands - Nukunonu
Tokelau Islands - Atafu
Easter Island - General

.....

Introductory –

✓(1) Figures in terms of U.S. dollars at rates current in Pesete in Feb. 1862, this being the general rate then current in the islands (quote all figures) – M. de T., 9.11.62, quoted in S.M.H., 8.5.63.

✓(2) All conversions of money are to U.S. dollars.

✓(3) Abbreviations: Sydney Morning Herald.

✓(4) It is important to remember that the American Civil War lasted from 1861–1865, or the whole of this period and it is not surprising, therefore, that the U.S. Minister and his Government were scarcely preoccupied.

✓(5) Slave: one who is the property of, and entirely subject to, another person, whether by capture, purchase, or birth; a servant completely divested of freedom and personal rights – OED.

CHRONOLOGY

INCEPTION

(1) 1849 Don Domingo Elias was given permission to bring Asiatic colonists to Peru. (Ward 2, quoting El Peruano 19.11.62).

(2) 1855 Manumission of slaves completed, leading to alleged desertion of rural holdings (El Peruano 23.3.64 in F)

(3) 5.3.1856 Traffic at (1) stopped by Decree, though 'permission was still given to certain expeditions'. (Ward 2, quoting El Peruano 19.11.62).

(4) 14.3.1861 Law re-enacting law permitting importation of 'Asiatic colonists' promulgated. (El Peruano 23.3.61 in F gives text of Law).

(5) 1.4.1862 D.J.L. Byse [J.C. Byrne] granted by Presidential Decree permission 'to introduce into Peru for five years and on the terms shown, colonists of both sexes, natives of the South-West Pacific Islands intended for agricultural work and domestic service, subject to the formalities laid down by the Law of 15th January, 1861.' (El Peruano 12.4.62 in F). [no record of Law of 15.1.61] See also Stewart (Hex Today, 28)

Not Hawaiian, as Stewart calls them.

(6) 13.9.1862 First recruiter, the 151-ton Adelaste brings 266 islanders from Tagaroa. (Byrne dies in voyage). (Despatch 161, 28.12.63 in FO 61/212).

RECRUITING ENTREPRENEURS

(1) Byrne, Captain of Adelante (151 tons), obtains labour at Tongareva but dies on return voyage. He had been granted a licence by the Peruvian Govt & had then formed a company in Lima for introducing colonists from the New Hebrides (Ward 1, quoting FO 61/204, no 79; 61/202, no 5; see also Pulido to Kingcome, 8.5.63:3)

(2) Rev A.W. Murray states that the firm in Callao either owns, wholly or in part, the vessels we connected with a Liverpool firm (Ward 7).

(3) Consul (?) Robertson says Germans, including the Prussian Vice-Consul at Callao, seem to be concerned in the ventures (probably only as owners of one or more vessels). (Ward 10).

(4) Higginson, a wealthy British resident of Callao, connected with Santiago (no (3)), a Peruvian, undertook a contract to supply 10,000 South Sea Islanders (W.W. Gill to LMS, 18.3.63, quoting Pitman, superintendent of Rosa Patricia). Pitman acknowledged that he could not run his cargo into Callao, for fear of being condemned as a slaver, but could safely discharge them at a small port to the south. [Possibly Higginson took in the Byrne contract?]

(5) According to SMH 4.12.63:8 (from the Melbourne Age of 28.11.63) the trade was begun by two fortuners from Melbourne, Byrne and Clarke who succeeded in endowing themselves as notorious in this Colony. Clarke was a hotel-keeper who ended in the Insolvency Court. Arrangement was that Byrne, Clarke and the ship owner were to have a third of the proceeds each, clear of all risks; but if Byrne died (he was ill) Clarke was to have $\frac{2}{3}$. He is now said to be a wealthy stock-holder in the region of Callao (SMH, 4.12.63).

For Clarke see also Rechsteiner (3)

(6) For the Grecian of Hobart (Capt. T.J. McGrath) a whaler which turned kidnapper, removed dissenters at Tutuila and Lefuka or Ovalau, and abducted 130 men, women & children from Tonga (after 27.5.63) [ata?] (Ibid).

(7) "A Spanish ship is engaged in the trade, and a Guayaquil Company have obtained the exclusive privilege of importing Kanakas. They have sent an armed brig in quest of cargo." (Letter from English gentleman in Lima, 24.2.63, quoted in SMH 25.8.63:5)

(8) The Adelante, General Prim and Jorge Zakora all belonged to the firm of Ugarte and Santiago, who it is said used no violence. (The Friend, 2.11.63) Byrne and Clark seem to have been charterers (at least of (1) & (3)) and J.W. Ugarte the consignee (Reid to Sir T. Maitland, 28.11.62)

✓(9) For excitement of speculators on return of Adelante and formation of companies 'in small shares' to send out expeditions to get islanders, in 'crazy old vessels that had long been laid up as hulks' see Miller to FO, no 18, 29.11.62. Extension of rice and cotton planting cause of death of labour.

✓(10) Byrne had formed a company in Lima for introducing colonists into Peru from the New Hebrides for agricultural work, under the privilege granted him by the Peru Govt. And had chartered a vessel (Barton to FO 29.5.62 FO 61/203). Barton was writing to him for 'not information'

✓(11) J C. Byrne became a French citizen in 1857 and since then had introduced upwards of 3,000 colonists from New Hebrides into New Caledonia. He was now fitting out the Adelante & going himself with a surgeon & a commissioner on behalf of the Peruvian Govt. Intended bringing about 170 colonists of both sexes 'who are to engage to serve in Peru for the term of five years at £4 per month wages, at the end of which term they are to be sent back to their own country if they wish it, at the expense of the purchasers of their contract which is printed in Spanish, English and the Polynesian languages and which, of course, is transferable.' Byrne's licence was for 5 years by the Peru Govt. Byrne informed Barton that after he had made 'this trial trip' he intended introducing as many colonists into Peru as he found requisite (Barton to FO 11.6.62 FO 61/203). (See also ibid 11.10.62(?)). For FO instructions to Jennyfer (also tied over on 31.1.63) see FO to Jennyfer 26.11.62 FO 61/204.

✓(12) Byrne died about 15 days before Adelante sailed to Callao (i.e. c. 29.8.62). His effects deposited at H & Co Lorente, Callao, and his brother Mark Byrne, 24 Arran Quay, Dublin, advised (Barton to FO 11.10.62 FO 61/204)

✓(13) The Guillermo was owned by Conroy Thomas and Gaillard William (Messager 28.2.63: 37).

✓(14) The Esperanza owned by Reiche, Prussian Vice-Consul at Callao (Jennyfer to FO, 28.4.63)

RECRUITING SHIPS

W (1) 1863 (10 July): Rosa y Carmen (Capt. Maristany) seized French squadron in port ready to seize ship & arrest capt. for committing murder & violent among natives under French protection. Protested by Spanish consular & 2 frigates & later cleared his name in Courts (Ward).

W (2) 1862 To 11.10.62 7 Peruvian ships & 3 with Peruvian Govt licence fitted out for trade:

Jorge Zafara  Manuelita Costas  Serpiente Marina

Truxillo  Apurimac  Eliza Mason [c]

Bella Margarita [c] [lost 2 Chilean; 3 more missing]

(Ward, quoting Barton to Russell, 11.10.62)

W (3) Barbara Gomez sailed 7.10.62  Adelante sailed 11.10.62

Empresa sailed 22.11.62

From Ozza? Ozoa? Bella Margarita (see (2)) arr. with 142 men & 12 women on 23.11.62.

W (4) Adelante returns (2nd time) from Tongareva in 50 days with 202 natives (see (3)).

Carolina returns from Osoa (?) in 28 days with 122 men 27.1.63.

Hermosa Dolores from Easter Island in 29 days with 160 natives (all well; no deaths). 27.1.63.

W (5) Carolina from BAIJEE (Fiji?) with 72 males & 1 female on 1.4.63.

(6) Eliza Mason from Easter Island in 27 days with 140 men, 86 women & 12 children. 17.1.63.

Rozalia with 159 men, 27 women & 10 children 1.2.63

Teresa from Independencia (?) with 203 natives. 21.2.63.

Jeorcoza from Easter Island, with 43 (including 24 women). 9.3.63.

Carolina dep. 5.2.63.

Easter Island – voyage to Callao 13.3.63.

Recruiting Ships

W ✓(7) Peruvian Bark Rosa Patricia visits Samoa but does not anchor. Several natives on board. Bound for Tokelaus in search of recruits (250 required in all). Easter Island has rendezvous, where he had already sent 45 from various islands. Had taken 50-60 from Niue. (Williams to Bennett 10.2.63).

✓(8) Surprisa: arr. with 63 from Rapa 18.4.63. (Ward 5). [Empresa]
Jose Castro arr. with 18 men & 3 women from Easter Island 20.4.63. (Ward 5).
Reduction in number of immigrants attributed by Jermyn to action of French (Tahiti).

✓(9) Mercedes A. de Wholey in Tuamotus; captured by French Dec. 1862 (Ward 5-6)

✓(10) EMPRESA recruiting in Marquesas (Ward 6 & FO 61/211, no. 58)

✓(13) CORA captured by natives of Rapa. (Ward 6).

✓(14) Rosa y Carmen lands attack on Easter Islanders Dec 1862 (Ward 6).

✓(15) Serpiente Marina detained by French but crew allowed to return home (Ward 6)

W ✓(16) Empresa arr. c. April 1863 with 61 natives & is detained [suspicion of traffic 28.4.63].

✓(17) Capt. & officers of Guillermo arrested for offences in French islands (Ward 9)

✓(18) Barbara Gomez returns from Easter Island with 23 natives 8.6.63 & left immediately (Reid to Kingcome, 27.6.63 in File 11)

✓(19) July 1863 4 sm arrs, all with 200 natives
20.7.63 Rosa y Carmen with 128.
17.7.63 Uzmeneta y Ramon from Necua (?) Island with 31.
19.7.63 General Prim (?) from Frenatelly (Friendly?) Islands, with 174.

✓(20) George Sarah cited as recruiting at Penrhyn 27.1.63 (Richards to Kingcome, 8.5.63)

✓(21) 3.3.63: vessels under detention at Tahiti:—
(i) Cora (one of 8 in Easter Island attack) seized by natives at Rapa.
(ii) Serpiente Marina: charged with using 'undue' methods when recruiting at Mangareva.
(iii) Mercedes de Wholey seized when taking away 151 natives from Tuamotus.
(Consul Miller to Jermyn, Papeete 3.3.63, Ward 10 quoting FO 61/204).

(22) For list of Peruvian ships in 1863 see Paz Soldan, Géographie de Pérou, 1863, pp. 57-59, quoted by Freeman.

(23) Lubbock – see Tokelau Is.; General – gives account of Empresa & her captain & crew & activities in Tokelaus. He states recruits also landed up at Niue, Manihiki, Pukapuka, Easter & other islands. 25 women + 40 children from Easter. States Gora abandoned as worn out & sold by auction at Tahiti. Other ships mentioned Guillermo, Mercedes, Miranda, Rosa Patricia, Jose Castro, Rosa y Carmen, Guayas, Mista.

[Lubbock is wrong; it was the Rosa y Carmen.]

(24) Rosa Patricia owned by Higginson, a British merchant and Santiago.

(25) Full name of Empresa was Empresa de Lima (Miller to Lima, 26.6.63).

(26) Ugarte and Santiago owned:–

Adelante; General Prim; and Jorge Zolara. (Freed 2.11.63).

(27) French Government seized:–

Serpente Marina; Mercedes D de Wholey; Mista; Cora; Guayas; and Barbara Gosey.

But the Goyas and Barbara Gosey were permitted to continue their voyage.

The Serpente Marina; Mercedes D de Wholey; Mista, and Cora were condemned.

The Mercedes D de Wholey; Mista; and Cora were sold by the French authorities. (Freed 2.11.63)

(Could be Mista or Mista – check in Freed & Messager 27.6.63).

(28) Serpente Marina and Tahiti early in Nov 1862 & was found to have 2 E.Is on board unwillingly. They were set at liberty & F2 got, and they could return to E.I. Ship has also been in trouble at Rangiroa & was held pending enquiries (Miller to F.O. No 18, 29.11.62). Letter also has Proclamation outlaw for illicit.

(29) Barbara Gosey also and Tahiti early Nov 1862 but after enquiry was allowed to dep. 19.11.62. Case for reference M 23.5.63: 103. Arturo Wolley owner M 20.6.63: 122.

(30) Trujillo detained 70-80 at Rekahanga & 50 at Niue – see (18) under Tarjanera.

(31) The Jose Castro (ex Gabrielle) was at Easter Island 12-13 March & for some days after (see Messager 27.6.63). She obtained by force of firearms 30 E.Is.

(32) The Guyas also left Guayaquil to engage in the trade, but after visiting Tokelaus made for Tahiti, where she agreed to return home without landing at any island (ibid).

(33) If the Cora was the 6th ship to visit Pukapuka it is probable that the other five were those at E.I. in Dec (less the Carolina and Heroina Dolores who went back to Callao) and that they continued on their filibustering expedition through the islands.

(34) The Rosa y Carmen was at Callao by 10.7.63 when the French squadron thee proposed to seize her. She left port flying a flag for assistance which came from the two Spanish frigates about to enter. Allegedly Capt. Maritanny eventually cleared his name in the Courts. She was a Spanish ship (see Ward: 1) (For arrival see Semaphore to FO, 28.7.63)

(34) For polyglot nature of crew see Mercure de Paris 27.6.63: 125 where composition of Mora's crew is tabulated.

(35) Teresa left Callao 25.10.62 with general cargo for Payta & three to islands — Mercure de Paris, 20.6.63: 122

(36) Esperza off Huahine flying U.S. flag on 25.1.63: Sr. Brown on board from Caroline Island — Mercure 7.2.63: 22.

(37) Out of Bella Margarita's cargo of 154, 12 were women — M. de T., 20.6.63: 122.

(38) An embargo has been put on the Peruvian ship Esperza, and a warrant issued for the arrest of Dechter, the captain, and Englehart, the surgeon, of the ship. These two have flown from the execution of judicial action. It is thought that Dechter is hiding in Chile .... Eight select of the crew have been placed under arrest to await trial in Peru. Thirty-six (36) islanders, seized by the Esperza have been sold at Huacho, a little port 90 miles north of Callao; they have been taken to the plantations in the interior, but ~~it has been~~ an assurance has been given that the sale has been annulled — Mercure de Paris, 27.6.63: 128.

(39) For the character of the crew see the captain of the Exile's account of the Rosa y Carmen at Sunday Island — SMH 21.8.63.

(40) General Prim took 23 days from Easter Island, arriving Callao on 6.1.63, 126 emigrants — El Comercio 7.1.63: 1. Rosalia took 29 days — El Comercio 3.2.63: 4.

(41) Many Ranchas on recruiting ships assisted helped recruiters. They had deserted at Callao from whaling & trading ships & one served in Peruvian navy — Moss, p. 63.

(42) The Espada flew the British flag when at Tulumba — Reuter to Tenenfar, 15.5.63; and the U.S. flag when off Huahine — U.S. minister to State Dept, 25.2.63; so did another barque & brigantine in Society Islands, ditto.

(43) Espresa arrives at Huacho; Engelhart disembarks; 36 colonists transferred to Paquete de Huacho (M:5)

(44) Barlona Gomez — aired with notices tricked like others; 11.6.63, placed recruiting under M 14.

# The Slaver Fleet

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | Adelante | Barque | 151 ✓ |
| | 2 | Jose Zabara | Schooner | 171 ✓ |
| | 3 | Manuelita Costas | Schooner | 132 ✓ |
| | 4 | Serfeste Maria | Barque | 198 ✓ |
| | 5 | Trujillo | Brigantine | 197 ✓ |
| | 6 | Apurinac | Brigantine | 189 ✓ |
| c | 7 | Eliza Mora | Barque | 176 ✓ |
| c | 8 | Bella Margarita | Brigantine | 286. ✓ |
| | 9 | Mercedes A. de Wolez | Brigantine | 196 ✓ |
| | 10 | Barbara Gomez | Brigantine | 172 ✓ |
| | 11 | Teresa | Barque | 219 ✓ |
| | 12 | Empresa | Frigate | 312 ✓ |
| | 13 | General Prim | Barque | 203 ✓ |
| | 14 | Cora | Schooner | 88 ✓ |
| | 15 | Carolina | Barque | 150 ✓ |
| | 16 | Guillermo | Brigantine | 178 ✓ |
| | 17 | Hermosa Dolores | Schooner | 100 ✓ |
| | 18 | Jose Castro | Schooner | 150 ✓ |
| | 19 | Rosa Patricia | Barque | 197 ✓ |
| s | 20 | Rosa y Carmen | Barque (?) | 402 ✓ |
| | 21 | Micaela Miranda | Brigantine | 156 ✓ |
| | 22 | Rosalia | Barque | 270 ✓ |
| | 23 | Dolores Carolina | Barque | 220 ✓ |
| | 24 | Margarita | Brigantine | 198 ✓ |
| | 25 | Polinesia | Barque | 220 ✓ |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ✓ | 26 | Honorio | Barque | 173 |
| ✓ | 27 | Genara | Schooner | 98 (or Jenara) |
| ✓ | 28 | Mistic | Brigantine | 193 |
| c ✓ | 29 | Ellen Elizabeth | Brigantine | |
| ✓ | 30 | Jeonora | Schooner | 98 |
| ✓ | 31 | Umereta y Rasoo | Barque | 185 |
| ✓ | 32 | Guzao | Brigantine | 189 |
| c ✓ | 33 | La Concepcion | Barque | |

| | |
|---|---|
| Frigate | 1 |
| Barques | 14 |
| Brigantines | 11 |
| Schooners | 7 |
| | 33 |

RECRUITING AGENTS – ISLAND

✓ (1) Capt. Carlo St Iago of Caroline Dolores tells Capt Copeland of Nautilus that if he had seen him at Pukapanga he would have offered him $7,000 to transfer his Fanning Island recruits to his ship. Note: popularity of English Fanning Island recruit probably prejudiced northern Cook islanders in favour of recruiting for Peru (see (5)).

✓ (2) Clark, captain & supercargo of recruiter takes son of Pukapanga Chief, aged 14 in promise to educate and return him within a year (Rickards to Kingsmill 8.5.63; 7.).

✓ (3) Brown, well-known in Cooks, where he has made a livelihood for some years appears to have joined a Peruvian ship to assist in decoying natives. At Atiu he called to natives from broken canoe who were swimming alongside Callao vessel to come on board. 5 who did were never heard of again (Williams to Miller, 21.4.63).

F ✓ (4) An American Red lived for some years on Olosenga and became well-known to the Tokelau people, who called him Ilao. He appears to have hired himself as a go-between to the first Peruvian vessel to visit Olosenga (and is said to have suggested the recruiting of Tokelauans) He accompanied the ship to Atafu where, speaking Tokelau and being known to them, he was able to obtain 14 men by entering them on board to trade and then closing the hold on them (Bird to LMS 26.2.63).

c. Jan. 1863.

✓ (5) Note at (1) above is borne out by the fact that the 2nd recruiting ship at Tongareva sailed to recruit for Titimataranga, north of the line (i.e. Fanning Island) to collect bêche-de-mer, & obtained 35 and a teacher (W. W. Gill to LMS, 18.3.65).

✓ (6) Paddy Cooney 'a British subject & a notorious character' living on Pukapuka joined 2nd ship to visit there & persuaded 60 to leave to work coconut oil on Palmerston (where he had lived) – he had already acted as recruiter to first ship – see Pukapuka (4-5) & Gill to LMS 18.3.63). Was later seen at Sunday Island (SMH 25.7.63). – see also (11).

✓ (7) For help given by Nichols (an American) to Empresa to kidnap Mangareva, and terms of undertaking, see Mangareva – General (4).

✓(8) Not all on recruiting vessels were bad. George Ellis, well-known Manihiki trader, shipped from Callao on recruiter & deserted at Caroline Island where 4 men were flattering flags for Tahiti (see Br. Consular Papers in MZ). From the he eventually reached Tongareva to find Tahiti recruits returned but no one from Peru. He then settled in Manihiki (Ross 104-108).

✓(9) Tom Rose, merchant & religious leader on Nukulaelae, persuades people to recruit 'to learn about God and religion' and return. He also left on recruiter (Murray 381; Whitmee 11). Rose also visited some boat on Funafuti (Murray 385). I think Murray is wrong & that Rose was on the ship (no evidence of

✓(10) Beni, the European on Tongareva who helped the Callao raiders by acting as their agent, was still living there after they left. He went with one raider to one of the other islands 'and when his dirty work was done they brought him back to Penrhyn.'
(Gill to LMS, 18.3.63:4)

✓(11) Gill to Miller, 2.11.63, Nga-tirinui & others were 'entertained by an Indian who goes by the name of "Paddy" and who has with his Polynesian wife lived for years on Danger Island. "Paddy" is a well known character, having lived in Tahiti, Fanning's Island (for a short time only) and has even found his way to Australia and Polynesia & Samoa.'

✓(12) For European in Tuamotus busy collecting islanders for despatch to Peru see Miller to FO, no 18, 29.11.62

✓(13) See (1) ~~above~~ Samoa for Pitman's offer of $10 a head or $1,000 for a 'gently made' of recruits.

✓(14) Many islanders had deserted from whaling or trading ships at Callao from 1859 onwards & some had served in Peruvian navy. These served on the recruiting ships & helped the recruiters - Ross: 63.

RECRUITING PROCEDURES

F. 11.

✓(1) Agreement to recruit Polynesian natives obtained by Capt. Rickards from English on Fanning does not profess to return them. Wages 4 dollars p.m. agriculture and domestic service. 'Quotas limited for usually assembled'. One month's wages paid in advance. Term of engagement not specified (Rickards to Kingscote, Fanning Island, 8.5.63).

✓(2) Sold in Peru for about 300 dollars each, stated to be passage money (Ibid).

✓(3) For value of coing current in Peruvian see SMH 8.5.63:2.

✓(4) Copies of contract for 'Polynesian Emigration to Peru' & in Spanish 'Emigracion Polinesia para el Peru' are in Williams to FO 9.2.63, FO 58/99.

✓(5) Jennyfer encloses copy from Canal, Collao, of contract (in English) and extracts of the regulations governing the repatriation of colonists (in Spanish). Jennyfer to FO, 28.1.63, FO 61/210.

✓(6) For Agreement signed by recruits on Necedes see Mercurio de Tacta, 28.3.83:67.

✓(7) 'The natives are invited on board, and are promised to be landed at one of the neighbouring islands. As they will rather soil in a ship than venture out in their canoes, many of them gladly accept the offer. Should this not succeed, they are surrounded and driven on board.' The Enquire, 9.7.63:7e.

RECRUITING FAILURES

(1) 20 who got away at Satava - see Samoa.

(2) The Cora engine at Rafa - see under Rafa.

CONDITIONS ON RECRUITING SHIPS

✓(1) Fahaofu returnees stated 300 natives on board. Given little water & 1 coconut between 2 every other day. See foreign-office further details (SMH 3.6.63, quoting letter from G.C., Apia, 1.4.63; and Fahaofu (3).)

✓(2) Bird to LMS, Savaii, 29.5.63, 3 natives of Fahaofu and at Upolu from Tutuila said 300 on board. 'Scarcely a drop of water to drink, and their only sustenance was one hoko (old coconut) to two persons – and that scanty allowance for two days. There were women on board far advanced in pregnancy and others with little one at the breast. Some of these poor creatures were taken occasionally into the cabin for a certain purpose.' Dysentery raging on board.

✓(3) SMH 13.10.63. Gill notes that after leaving Easter I. one of the captains was overhearing his captives, 'and considering one old woman would not repay the cost of her keep, quietly ordered her to be thrown overboard.'

✓(4) Denoyelle, how ships were fitted out (taken from French accounts at Tahiti).

✓(5) Renato Bassetti's account (& the other seamen) of conditions on the Ellen Elizabeth.

✓(6) For fittings on Serpiente Marina and Barbara Gonzey: bunkside across upper deck, between decks fitted with berths, extremely low, ill-ventilated see letter to FO, no 18, 29.11.62. Ships set out are described as crazy old vessels that had long been laid up as hulks. Ship clothing and contracts printed in Spanish with blanks for names, dates, advances, etc found on board.

Contracts

✓(7) For conditions on Chinese recruiting ships see Baxter to FO 29.4.62 FO 61/203. 243 coolies taken by fraud or violence in Kwang-chow-wan. 45 drowned when Lorcha scuttled side attack, they stowed below. Coolies could be confined to their berths if refused.

✓(8) For Pablo Gamero's account of the 1st voyage of the Adelante see Baxter to FO 23.12.62 FO 61/204. 38 days to Nukuhiva; 8 days on to Tagaroa; 9 days thence; 70 days to Hiva Oa; 7 days on to Callao. (But how come when the dates of arr & dep show she took 91 days, and not 132?)

✓(9) Show that recruiting conditions and treatment on the earlier best-run ships (Adelante, Truxillo) were good – quote Robertson to Jermyn, 11.1.63 in J. to F.O., 28.1.63 where it is stated that most colonists could read and had their individual contracts with them, were issued with clothing (see their contract one in Spanish) and all those when Robertson saw were 'in good health, happy and content' on arrival.

✓ (10) At night retired in darkness; kept hardly at door; beaten with blocks of wood; singing and praying in evening. Author account of conditions due to report of [illegible] (Esperia, 19.6.63:3; also in SMH 19.6.63:5)

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✓ (11) For provisions and stores on board the Mercedes A. de Whaley see the Messager de Tahiti, 4.4.63:77. For food given to recruits in Mercedes see 21.3.63:57. For clothes see 14.3.63:50 Note that Edwards' recruits offered koffs.

✓ (12) They were invariably called 'Indians' and treated as the South American Indians had been in times past.

✓ (13) For fitting out of Adelaste on her first voyage (new gratings, etc., water, provisions & bread-casks) see Richardson's article for JPH.

✓ (14) The first thought of the Nine captured was prayer and of the Nukuoro Catholics was not the same – Ellis letter in Annales 39 (1867): 141

✓ (15) Odour & lack of cleanliness on recruiting ships – Jennings to F.O., 26.2.63 (printed)

✓ (16) Recruits on Adelaste allowed collects beads and not guarded as coolies 'which indicates their good character'. [Sergeants and guards not in last needed]. El Comercio, 18.9.62, (p. 29)

✓ (17) Payment of 485 pesos to (260 pesos wages + 150 passage money Callao–Tahiti + 75 repatriation indemnity Tahiti–Nukuhiva) to 5 seamen (lately crew) ex Jorge Zalaza – M.S.

WORKING CONDITIONS

(1) According to George Sarah contract 27.1.63 engagement was for agriculture and domestic service in Peru (Rechards to Kingsmill, 8.5.63).

(2) 'The treatment of men on the hacienda was sometimes deplorable in the extreme' (Ward 10).

(3) In annual returns sold for about $300 each, termed passage money (Rechards to Kingsmill, 8.5.63). Odellante (late Capt. Byrne) on 1862 sold contracts for $200 (men), $150 (women) and $100 (boys), care being taken to avoid splitting families (Ward 1, quoting FO 61/204, no 79 & 61/202, no 5).

(4) George Sarah contract stipulated wages $4 p.m. (1 month in advance). Term of engagement not stated.

(5) Engagement not a success: 'a gentleman who had a lot and cared for them has lost all but two' (Consul, Callao, to Jennings quoted in Ward 4).

(6) El Commercio 3.3.63 condemns trade as useless since so many died, as unaccustomed to the climate and the work. Also open to abuses. Jennings speaks of going unwillingness of coolies to take the labour (ibid).

(7) Rebagliati 27.4.63 details unsuitability of islanders for work (Ward 8).

(8) That some recruits worked on the guano islands is clear from Tarlé's account in Rhodes Pageant of the Pacific II:49-59.

(9) By far the best account of conditions in the hacienda and the treatment of island recruits is the report of M. Eugène Henry to the French chargé d'affaires, 25.6.63. (in my manila envelope - trans. of N.P.)

(10) See also the account of 'a respectable English gentleman' in SHM 25.8.63:5 (there are 2 letters from him dated Lima 9.2.63 & 24.2.63)

(11) Interpreter sent from Tahiti to Lima to assist in collecting recruits (Miller to ? photostat with me).

(12) Jennyfer states that the colonists did not in any case seem inclined to work on the hacienda. Apparently neat and well-built they are ill at ease in their clothes and do not resemble agriculturists. Esp. article 'Polinesios' from El Comercio of 8.2.63 blatantly contrary the tale as bearing a real 'trata' (slave trade) – quoted in detail in JDF (see Jennyfer to FO 9.2.63, FO 61/210).

(13) Notice that these are good displays such as M. Larrañaga also gave every facility to Roberton to inspect labour on annual basis and assures that all should have been recruited voluntarily – see Roberton to Jennyfer, 11.1.63 in J. to F.O., 28.1.63 and (9) under 'Conditions on Recruiting Ships', & first from this I have copied.

(14) For agreement signed by recruits on Mercedes see Mensajero de Tacna, 28.3.63:67.

(15) See Mensajero de Tacna, 25.4.63:88-89 for conditions of work & health in Peru.

(16) Note that even the Chinese were returns provided a guaranteed passage home at their termination, though few actually returned – Lewis: 88.

(17) See Véliz (TS, footnotes p.2) for islanders who 'let themselves die' in captivity and caused their owners great losses.

(18) Recruits esc Espresa landed at Huacho & denied made of capture to have them sent to hacienda to work. Threatened at pistol point (Mendoza p.10 lost).

(19) Adelante recruits on annual created a most favourable impression (described in detail) – El Comercio, 18.9.62 (p.29). But see also Jennyfer to F.O., 9.2.63 (end p/p).

(20) Sale of Adelante recruits made on land – El Peruano, 30.3.63, evidence of Antonio Guerra.

(21) Polynesians referred to as 'Cooper' of Guerra – relighter of El Comercio. – El Comercio 13.3.63, 21.3.63 (M37).

CHINCHA ISLANDS

(1) Grant McCall in JPH XI (1-2): 97 says no evidence of Polynesians working in the guano islands

(2) SMH 29.6.63 reproduces letter from Andres A. Calderon of 16.9.62 requesting licence to recruit 800-1,000 colonists to work on Chincha Islands (he was the contractor for guano shipment); & licence signed Moralez of same date 'to introduce colonists from the Oceanic Islands'; & assignment to A. Wholey for action (deported with US Consul, Pofeete, & Bolaches, doubtless as Mercedes A. de Wholey)

(3) SMH 1.7.63 Reilly, pilot of ship, testifies that he understood recruiting of ship was for the Chincha (see also in SMH 29.6.63). He testifies 2ce to bad conditions there, where he kept a restaurant.

(4) Taole in Cowan JPS 32: 241 'The Story of Nine' states some Polynesians 'worked at digging out guano on the islands'; Cowan in 'Summer Gold' 49-59 was told by Taole that 'Their fellow slaves see taken down the coast to the guano islands, where none of them ever returned'. Taole was in Rosa Patrico

(5) Anthony Gibbs and Sons' contract for the sale of all guano in Peru in G.B. and I. had been for many years with the firm but expired in 1861 & not renewed. A Peruvian firm formed in Lima to take an exclusive rights for sale of guano to G.B. & I. for the next 8 years: Contract exc. capital $2 millions (Baker to FO, 8.6.62 FO 61/203). Price of guano on US market $70 or £14 a ton & in Spanish market $65 or £13 (Baker to FO 11.8.62).

(6) Conditions were so bad in the Chincha that of the 600 most chinese coolie contracts (vide before Portuguese officials in Macao) contained clauses prohibiting their employment in guano extraction. They were of little value to the coolies and they had revolted the Chinese, however — Levin: 89

(7) In 1862 the guano-loading concession held by Domingo Elias since 1849 was awarded (in May) to Andrés Álvarez-Calderón — Levin: 89.
By 1867 he had more than a 1,000 permanent employees.

(8) Tarle says most of the islanders ex Rosa Patricia were 'sent away in another ship [from Callao] that took them to the guano islands down the coast, where none of them ever returned' - Levin, 55.

(9) The Easter Island figure with inlaid obsidian eyes was found on one of the Chincha Islands. For a discussion see Heyerdahl, The Art of Easter Island, p. 44.

(10) Levin, 89-90, quotes Dunbar 255-7 and Garland 1905 as his authorities for saying that islanders were taken to work on the guano islands - Levin 89-90.

(11) But Garland, 46, does not say that any islanders died in fact work in the Chinchas but only that they were imported into Peru - Garland 46.

ESCAPEES

(1) See S. Percy Smith, 'Niue-fekai (or Savage) Island and its People', Wellington 1903, pp 87-88, for the story of a Niue man who escaped on an American whaler manned by Aitutaki natives from Tahiti. He landed at Tahiti where he connected with his relatives, married in Hawaii, but eventually returned home. From Tom Davis, Samoan Gold, pp. 39-48, it appears that this man was 'a young chief Taole'. His full story is told in ibid, pp 49-59. For a more accurate account of Taole's story see the information obtained by J. D. Freeman on Niue 2.7.46. He was the son and heir of Hegatule, the High Chief of Avatele Village, married with a son & daughter. His wife remained & although he may have remained in Hawaii he actually met her on Flint Island with a party of Niuean workers. He later returned to Niue, remarried & settled down.

(2) See J. D. Freeman's note dated 2.7.46 for an improbable, though possible, account of the natives of a Tokelau Island escaping from the ship by cutting through an unsound plank. They later exploded the ship's sink.

(3) Best account of the 6 escapees (or rather returnees) from Fakaofo not added at Tutuila is in Bird to LMS 29.5.63. See also under Fakaofo & Cadiscio on recruiting ships.

(4) For escapee from Chuka Islands (?) found by Beale in Caroline see Nukulaelae (5).

(5) Moss speaks to Taole on Niue in 1886 - see (1) - Moss 61.

REPATRIATION

(1) For hardening of Peruvian Government attitude towards trade see under 'Government Action – Peru'. Decree suspending recruiting licences dated 28.4.63 (see ibid (5)).

(2) Soon after Govt decides to repatriate all free & released islanders on Govt chartered ships (+) and Adelante & Barbara Gorey chartered.

(3) Adelante dep. with 482, of which 200 died from smallpox, etc. on voyage. De Lesseps says survivors dumped on Cocos Island. El Comercio states only 40 escaped disease & the effects of hunger. Jennyhn says Captain a bad choice (Ward 10).

(4) Barbara Gorey left with 360, of which 310 died on voyage, and 50 dumped ill on Rapa (Ward 10). But see Messrs for 28.11.63

(5) W.B. Churchward Blackbirding in the South Pacific ... (1888): 3 quotes, though one of his characters, '... the Callao hymn of which the chorus is – "On no condition is entrebetion allowed in Callao" ...'. (Book repeatedly autobiographical).

(6) For opinion of Spanish in Pacific as late as 1871 see Stevenson 3B, p.17.

(7) Daveda and other Mangareva repatriated by French warship Decaest bound for Papeete but as smallpox broke out after leaving Callao were landed in Mangareva (Miller to Gell 15.10.63)

(8) Tepera and wife on Barbara Gorey. He was trader on Tepuaria & interpreter on barque. See (2) under Rarotonga.

(9) Newell says one returned to Echaofa & died of consumption soon after. Check Newell: 607.

(10) See second note to Green, 1464 for categorical nature of disease brought by repatriating ships.

(11) No kidnapped natives from Niue, Pukapuka or Tokelau had been repatriated – J.C. Williams to FO 19.6.64

(12) Quote Heyerdahl, Thor, 1965 'Notes on the Pre-European Coconut Groves of Cocos Island' in Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific. Vol 2 – Miscellaneous Papers. Thor Heyerdahl and Edwin N Ferdon, Jr (eds). Pp 461-467.

London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. for the existence of accounts ~~guano~~ on the island and a gree of accounts at Wafer Bay (p. 465); also a plentiful supply of water (p. 461).

(13) Quote Rollin and Caillot (I have both on TS translation) for the small-pox epidemic brought to Nukuhiva and Uapou by the Dionaea refugees in August 1863, from which 1560 died out of 3,800 (960 on Nukuhiva and 600 on Uapou)

(14) Quote Caillot, Rapa, 76-77, for the smallpox on Rapa which left only 128 alive. But explain that he is wrong to attribute it to the Cora (I have TS translation).

(15) Quote Caillot, Polynésie orientale, 465-468, for the eventual repatriation of 100 repatriated of which all but 15 died on the ship taking them back; and on p. 481 of the population decreasing from 1,200 to 900. Also quote Eyzaguirre on the anarchy which ensued owing to the death of the King.

(16) For the smallpox brought to Callao by the Ellen Snow (on 24.5.63), an American whaler, see Grant De Cell (thesis). She was at first put into quarantine but after a fortnight her crew were allowed to land carrying one of Lima's worst smallpox epidemics in decades. Peruvians in Callao and Lima got the disease vaccinated but apparently not on the islanders, who were left in a large warehouse in Callao awaiting repatriation.

De Cell (thesis) — But in JPH he says they saw days of smallpox in February 63

(17) On 27.9.63 there were 513 anxious repatriates (238 on Adelante and 245 on Rosario Cannon). All these, however, were ex Adelante, Polynesia, Deloro Cannon and Grand Prum — Decree of Govt. / Return to Peru, 1.10.63. Numbers had declined from 589 on 16.9.63.

(18) See Velez (TS, footnotes p. 2) for account of Peruvian officer who went with Adelante to Cuzco.

(19) For the one returnee from Peru to Fakaofo see Turner: 1878 (PMB 129)

(20) There were apparently two returnees to Pukapuka (one called Pelato) - (see my letter of 3.3.75 to Julia Heckt in the Correspondence File).

(21) Dunbabin appears to be the only person to quantify the number who died on Easter Island from smallpox. On p. 257 he gives it as 1,000.

(22) Barlow Grey to repatriate Easter Islanders & others (my few being F2 subjects) - M9
9.7.63 to sail 'the mail' - M7b. 3.8.63 not yet sailed because see Pelys and. - M9
Reid, Gillow, to Miller 27.6.63, TBCP.

GOVERNMENT ACTION

BRITISH

✓(1) Barter (?) sends despatch re trade (Ward, quoting B to Russell 11.10.62).

✓(2) Jennings, British 'Charge' at Lima, then in England, sent back to stop traffic. HMG had already protested against trade as likely to 'degenerate into the slave trade in disguise' (Ward, quoting draft to Jennings, 26.11.62, FO 61/202, no. 5).

✓(3) British with French against trade in 1862 but Peru Govt refused to receive their note (Ward 3).

✓(4) Jennings' names had & reports traffic continuing. Adm Mitchell thought HM ships should investigate other islands. 3.1.63. (Ward)

✓(5) Mitchell asks HM Consuls at Hawaii & Tahiti to ascertain whether natives kidnapped or coerced. (Ward).

✓(6) c. Jan. 1836 Jennings sees Govt. who told him it was now against the trade and was stopping many of its abuses (Ward).

✓(7) c. March 1863 Jennings thinks traffic will eventually be killed by French action in Polynesia & growing unwillingness of officers to take the natives. British Consul at Callao tells him that trade is not success owing to deaths: 'a gentleman who had a lot and cared for them has lost all but two'.

✓(8) Thomson, British representative at Santiago, assures Kingcote (Rear-Admiral) that Chilean Govt. had told him that if any Polynesians landed in Chile and it was found that they had been taken against their will, they would be repatriated.

✓(9) J C Williams (British Consul, Apia) entreats Commodore Burnett (Australian Station) to send a ship to prevent recruiters. He also reported to Governor, NSW (FO 61/215).

✓(10) HMS Tulane detailed by Admiral to visit islands, consult officers and warn natives.

✓(11) British Government points out that it could only interfere with ships carrying African slaves (Ward 7).

Government Action – British

(12) Jennyngham protests very strongly about the Easter Island attack (Ward 7)

(13) 1.5.63: Peruvian Govt tells Jennyngham that it has entirely abolished the trade. 'all vessels now on their way to Peru with colonists on board see the moment they arrived to be placed in strict isolation so that they might be subjected to a strict examination'. Espinosa had been sought & seized taken to get the Rosa y Carmen.

(14) 27 April 1863 Admiral Kerguenec reports trade almost finished as ships now returning without any emigrants (7 and 8, quoting Kerguenec to See to Adm, 27.4.63 in FO.61/215, Letter of Proc. no 40). Empresa returns with 61 & is detained (see Govt Action – Peru (5)), c. 28.4 – 1.5.63.

(15) Note energetic action of G C Miller, H.M. Consul at Tahiti, in warning at British representatives in and around Pacific of the Peruvian trade (see his letters of which I have copied and, in particular, a list of those warned in Miller to Earl Russell, 15.12.62).

(16) Rear Adm Sir Thomas Maitland requests information re kidnapping be sent by Miller to SNO Callao (Maitland to Miller 9.1.63).

(17) Thomson at Santiago asks SNO Callao if 200 Tagaremas had been kidnapped by the Chilean ship David Thomas and sold for $50,000 (Thomson to SNO Callao 17.10.62; Velez p.149).

(18) Captain of Hecate said he would consider any ship he came on a pirate and set the islanders on board free. (See to CMS 19.6.63).

(19) Barton's name first appears as a consul in Peru in 1842.

(20) Report of Richards of Hecate on kidnapping is in FO to Jennyngham 12.11.63, FO61/209

(21) Soon after arrival Jennyngham had protested to Min of F.A. (8.1.63) on way in which Peru Govt had dealt with his representations (see note on Peru Polynesian Labour Trade). In FO 61/210

(22) Jennyngham discusses trade with Sir Thomas Maitland & Capt agree HMS should visit islands. Fresh charge d'affaires considers recruits drugged, etc. Exc. extract for England & regulations governing infanticide in Samoa (Jennyngham to FO 28.1.63, FO61/120).

(23) Captain John Moresby set out in H.M.S. Basilisk in May, 1872, to look for kidnappers and check the trade (the Kidnapping Act of 1872 having been passed) she visit to the following islands:-

(1) Nuatapitapu: (H. 60-61) 'a German, the solitary white man living on the island, and he told us that the kidnappers had once attempted to cozen these people, but found them too enlightened to be tuffed'.

(2) Niuafo'ou: (p. 64) 'a German told Moresby that 'Thirty men had been captured from Niua five years before our visit, not one of whom had since been heard of; and a near island, one of the Uveon group, which had contained a population of fifty or sixty souls, had been depopulated by one act. The master of a barque, under Spanish colours, had decoyed all its inhabitants on board, under pretence of trading and making missionaries of them, and had secured and sailed away with them.'

(3) Wallis: (p. 66) 'The priest told us that no kidnapping had taken place at Wallis Island, though several Polynesian vessels had attempted it.'

(4) Futuna: (p. 68) no kidnapping had taken place here, though many shipped on board passing islands and never return.

(5) Rotuma: (p. 69) 'I gained information from the missionary, Mr. Osborne, a fine manly Englishman, and found that, thanks to the missionaries, Rotumah has not suffered from kidnappers.' Islanders had a bad reputation as for drinking as boatmen and stokers and are hired at high wages by the masters of kidnapping vessels & one 15 have been killed by poisoned arrows 'which served them right'.

(6) Mahulculae: (pp. 72-73) German left 450 in 1857, found 50 'men-out people and children remaining in 1864'. 3 large barques and Spanish colours, from which an old man landed who told them they were missionary ships and invited them on board to receive the holy sacrament. Then retired to the women & children that their men had sent for them. 2 jumped overboard and swam 6-7 miles to the island.

(7) Funafuti : (p. 76) they 'number only 140 souls now, more than half the original population having been carried off by kidnappers'.

(8) Nukufetau : (p. 77) 'an intelligent chief governs well, and has foiled the attempts of the kidnappers'.

(9) Nui : (p. 77) 'the 200 inhabitants . . . had escaped the kidnapper'.

(10) Nuitao : (p. 78) no convert made. 417 inhabitants.

(11) Nanumanga : (p. 79) no convert.

(12) Nanumea : (p. 80) no convert.

(13) Anuta : (pp. 81-82) no kidnappers had visited there.

(14) Duff Island : (p. 83) formerly no kidnappers.

✓ (24) HMS Tribune ordered to the South Seas to investigate and warn natives - FO to Williams, 3.11.63, FO 58/99. But she actually called only at Pitcairn, Papeete, and Hawaii; so her visit was precisely n.b.g. - Log. Tribune 25.7.63-3.12.63 in Adm. 53/8539. For instructions to her captain re labour traffic see Kingsmill to Miller, 4.5.63, TBCP.

✓ (25) Jennings's anxiety that Alexander Sacer on Serpente Marina should be treated as a caballero & not a sailor - Jennings to Miller 13.3.63 TBCP (will mis).

GOVERNMENT ACTION

FRENCH

✓(1) French and Hawaiian representatives took action and the replies to their notes were published in El Peruano 19.11.62 (Ward).

✓(2) 1863: De Lesseps, French chargé, consulars began used to obtain notices (Ward).

✓(3) Mensajero de Tahiti reports judicial investigation on Peruvian CORA, captured by natives of Rapa (Ward 6)

✓(4) Jennyfan acknowledges that the French chargé was chiefly responsible for the successful attack on the trade (Ward 7)

✓(5) De Lesseps backed by Jennyfan organizes meeting of Diplomatic Corps in Lima for a public declaration re conduct of trade (only Sweden would not sign). Peruvian Minister replies (direct insult).

✓(6) At Callao many of the Polynesians use under French protection, including David of Mangareva.

✓(7) Pilenyo protests at means by which De Lesseps had obtained notices for repatriation & stated his intention of coming to France. De L. therefore refused to concerned with P. except through Jennyfan. De L also receives threat against his life.

✓(8) French note of remonstrance after arrival of Adelante to Mr Barter to FO, 23.10.62, FO 61/204. Answer of José Gregorio Paz Soldan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr Barter to FO 23.12.62, ibid. Dated 15.10.62.

✓(9) Valid contracts between Tuamotu Islanders and foreigners null and void from 1.7.63 and all written agreements to be in French and Tahitian & interpreted by Government interpreters — SMH, 16.4.63. Also any agreements between French or Europeans & Society Islanders.

✓(10) Newspaper quoted in Mensajero de Tahiti, 28.4.63: 88 says Peruvian vessels keeping well away from Tahiti since capture of Barbara Gerry has prolonged action against Serpiente Marina.

✓(11) Pleasure of natives on Rapa at seeing French ship. — Barter declaration 7.2.63 (55).

✓(12) Letter from de Lesseps to Pilenyo dated 15.5.63 following decision to abolish trade — M.7 (but not yet translated).

(13) Alarm of Persian Govt. at actions of French during Chancery Commission – M 7b.

(14) Persian Govt. cannot force natives to leave; Mixed Commission cannot be reconstituted because there seems was not – M 7c.

(15) Only natives in complete liberty may be picked up by F2 or whose owners immediately then without compensation, 9.6.63 – M 14 Collection of natives for Chancery – diffs page.

GOVERNMENT ACTION

PERUVIAN

✓(1) When French & German representatives took action, replies to their notes were published in El Peruano 19.11.62 stating coastal colonists permitted in 1849. Stopped in 1856 but permission still granted for 'certain expeditions'. This colonization similar to that supported by Govt. for immigration of Irish, Germans, Spanish, etc... 'No one is ... brought to Peru to be enslaved'. French asked to produce instances of forcible removal from Fr. colonies & told they should stop people from leaving. Peru insisted on right to contract (Ward 2-3).

✓(2) c. Jan. 1863 Jennings told by Govt it was now against the trade and was stopping many of its classes (Ward)

✓(3) 3.3.63. El Comercio strongly condemns trade. Unless as so many died, they encouraged to elevate & work; also open to classes; & were actuated with a strong binding?

✓(4) 27.4.63: Peruvian attitude to trade set out in note from Ribeyro, Foreign Minister, to Secretary of Home Dept.:-

(1) Desire to help agriculture & foster useful immigration (top. tec. soil) (WARD - 8)

(2) But emigrants had not proved useful (explains why).

(3) Nothing discreditable in original licensing of traffic, but must now be stopped.

✓(5) 28.4.63: Freyre, Minister for the Home Dept., issues decree suspending absolutely the concession of licences. Ships required special licences now to disembark new or passengers shd. could be only granted if evident that labour freely contracted & no cases committed during voyage.

✓(6) Capt & subcargo of Guillermo arrested for offences in French islands (based on action in Tahiti Court).

✓(7) Peru decides to repatriate in Govt. ship 'all free Polynesians and those whom their masters were willing to release without compensation'. As they would not work many left stranded & starved in deserts. Trouble with De Lesseps, who took many under his protection (Govt action - French (7)).

✓(8) But trade still continued & in July 1863 4 more ships arrested (Ships (18)).

✓(9) See (5) under 'Native attitudes' for important decree of Peru Govt. suppressed there

✓(10) For Peru Govt order of 20.12.62 setting up a Committee (Prefect, Mayor & Recorder of Callao) to investigate whether 1st article of law of 14.3.62 has been fulfilled "see enc" in Dennyson to FO 28.1.63, FO 61/120.

✓(11) Chilean Government had passed a law forbidding a penalty of 10 years in the galleys for the captain or seamen of any Chilean ship engaged in the Peruvian Guano trade (Mensajero 27.6.63).

✓(12) Express owned by Prussian Vice Consul at Callao (Dennyson to FO, 28.4.63); theft inconsiderable & captain & doctor arrested (Dennyson to FO, 12.5.63). See especially letter from Rich & Zo to Dennyson, 1.5.63 in File 11.

✓(13) On arrival of Barbara Gomez at Callao 8 or 11.6.63 Peruvian authorities took charge of vessel, stopped all communication with the shore, detained master and crew & after an investigation has taken place will repatriate her 23 native (from an unknown island) passengers – Reid to Miller 27.6.63 (p'stat with me).

✓(14) For Express (see (12)) see also Miller to Dennyson, 26.6.63 (p'stat with me).

✓(15) For Chilean view of the Peruvian trade see Mensajero de Tacna, 21.3.63:53, 27.6.63:125.

✓(16) Pelegrin says recently appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs (resigned & refused) 28.4.63.

✓(17) Manuel Palacios appointed Consul General in Polynesia and Antonio B. Carrasco Chancellor on 8.7.63 – Pelegrin to Min of Finance, 15.7.63 (M:7d) Def for Poly (M9) (see (21)) To reside in Tahiti M9 Letters of Exequatur – M9 Chancellor – M16

✓(18) Peruvian flag being used by ships in Islands who are no better than pirates & for which Govt cannot be held responsible – M7.

✓(19) Pelegrin to P. ambassador in Paris re Peruvian Govt attitudes & actions towards Poly labour – M:7e–7g. Dated 27.6.63. Recounts deterioration of relations with De Lesseps leading to letter conferring therefs British 29.7.63 re-establishing relations – M9 Letters to consulted therefs British, 13.7.63 – M8 ↓ Min Consul, 29.9.63 M10. But see de L. to Pelegrin breaking relations on 27.6.63 – M18.

(20) P. Govt. under no liability to enforce compliance with law in countries prohibiting departure of immigrants. Cons. Gen. begs not to find out what occurred there – Reply to Ambassador in Paris, 13.8.63. M 9-10. 13.6.63, Consul to redress alle-M 15.

(20) Agreement for normalization of relations with de Lesseps officially funded for all French Polys to be repatriated. Fr. Leg. to provide 2 interpreters to work with Joint Commission to see rule moved.

see also (17) & (24) & (19)

(21) 29.10.63 Cons. Gen. to represent Peru in France, British and American possessions. American letter sent in error to France – M 10. Assuming that Cons. be recognized because P. Govt. has written of setting a Commission to islands, 9.10.63 – M 11.

(22) 27.1.64, de L. still requesting Mixed Commission, altho Poly. question terminated, to seek indemnity for families who died – M 11.

(23) 12.2.64, P. Govt. cannot force repatriation of Polys. resuming relationship in Peru under legal contract & in good working conditions; so few natives left in country so force is Mixed Commission; Govt. will not consider indemnification of families of workers; Govt. will not reimburse de L. for expenses in aiding & repatriating natives. – M 11. 27.3.64 also on indemnities – M 12-13; M 14; M 15. All on Chincay expedition

Chincay, see (27)

see (17) & (21)

(24) 25.2.64, Consul in Poly. still cannot fulfil his full functions – M 12

(25) 25.2.64, P. Govt. supports Benolos y Socos claim for return of Sepulcro Tarma + damages – M 12.

(26) 12.6.63, Terrible state of natives in Chincay – M 14

see (23)

(27) 20.6.63, 20 considered to relieve at Chincay – M 17. 22.6.63, 23.6.63, details of Chincay expedition from relief M 17

(28) Soldan requests lifting up of absence of regs to avoid French & American complaints, 14.11.62 – M 4.

(29) Recruits will enjoy better health on ships, 10.7.63 – M 19.

FRENCH SEIZURE AND TRIALS

TAHITI

(1) See Consul Miller to Jermingham, Papeete 3.3.63 (FO 61/204). Vessels then detained at Tahiti :-

(i) Cora (in Easter Is. attack) seized for natives at Ropa.

(ii) Serpente Marina charged with using undue methods when recruiting in Gambiers.

(iii) Mercedes de Wholey seized when taking away 151 Transportees. To be fined in Tahiti Courts in a few days. (Ward 10)

(2) Miller to SNO, Australian Station, 2.4.63 states re Mercedes de Wholey :-

Master given 5 years penal labour for sequestration of persons;
fined 3,500 francs for entering ports contrary to local regulations; and
fined 15,000 francs for embarking natives contrary to local regulations.

If necessary vessel to be seized and sold to pay fines

Pilot given 10 years for sequestration.

The two other vessels - see (1) - were to be held pending decision of French Government. (Ward 10-11).

(3) 25.2.64, P. Gat offers Beasley & Sons claim for return of S.M. + damages - M12.

GOVERNMENT ACTION

HAWAIIAN

✓(1) Launch by Honduras representatives such action & replies to their notes were published in El Peruano. 19.11.62 (Ward).

✓(2) Demarche of Honduras Chargé d'Affaires on arrival of Ardelante is enclosed in Baker to FO 11.10.62, FO 61/204. Arrival of Peru Minister for Foreign Affairs 9.10.62 is in Baker to FO 23.12.62, FO 61/204. Also reported in El Peruano 19.11.62

NATIVE ATTITUDES

(1) 'Unless a check be put to these kidnappers ... the natives will take their revenge upon the first vessel visiting them after these freebooters' (Williams to Barnett, 10.2.63).

(2) Manihiki 'King' refuses consent to any natives going. Only 2 had got away by 16.5.63 (Richards, HMS Hecate, to Knapscale, Rakahanga, 16.5.63).

(3) Natives of Nassau resist 3rd attempt to recruit them & Capt of Caroline Islands wounded (Ibid)

(4) In contrast to (2) Rakahanga 'King' states 91 taken in Oct 1862 with his consent & there on condition of return within year & to be employed on light work fishing etc (Ibid). Later disillusioned by attempted kidnapping & statements of Capt of J.W. (Ibid). King allowed son to go on promise of getting education (Ibid).

(5) 'Peruvian Government have issued a decree prohibiting captains of vessels and speculators, bringing these Polynesians and other emigrants to Peru, to land any of them until the "Commissioners", instituted for enquiring into the contracts between these natives and the speculators, shall have investigated them. If the contracts are not duly verified, the Polynesians, or emigrants will be assisted by the Laws to do with their persons as they think fit. If clear be proved the offenders will be submitted to the Judicial authorities' (Pennington to Miller, 27.2.63).

MISSION ACTION

W ✓(1) LMS protests at Br. Govt. view that it could only interfere with ships carrying African slaves by pointing out that many kidnapped were Christians.

W ✓(2) Protests by British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; in Jamaica; in Australian colonies.

M

W ✓(3) Rev. A. W. Murray writes full statement in extenuation based on information from missionaries, J. C. Williams, native teachers, etc. States:-

(i) 1,500 - 2,000 taken early in 1863.

(ii) 25 vessels fitted out for trade.

(iii) Depot opened at Easter I. after many of its natives had been carried away.

(iv) Schooner flies from Easter I. to mainland while other ships get natives.

(v) Callao firm which owned the ships, wholly or partly, was connected with Liverpool firm.

Taken from Fitia lang i (?) - 100. Nareheke - (?) High Island - (?)

Tagenera - 40. Tokelaus - 60. Niue - 160

Details re Niue recruiting: more natives shot.

✓(4) Reverend Mahaia's request for advice as to whether he should prevent women and children from being recruited after he had seen all men gone.

Native Reprisals

✓(1) See material on capture of Cora at Rapa

✓(2) Detaining of American whaler, prior to capture if a slaver, at Rangiroa (W.W. Gill 3.8.63).

✓(3) Note of American whaler Congress nearly taken at Pnamau but rescued by Hawaiian missionary Kekela ... (Alexander, M.C. William Pattison Alexander ..., pp. 372-5). (See on card for further details)

✓(4) For numerous proposals to seize captain and ship, which were eventually abandoned, see SMH 20.6.63:5 (Hobart with me)

✓(5) Torture and near cooking of Whaler, note of American whaler Congress, in refusal for abduction of chief's son on Hanaoa, his rescue by the missionary Kekela who received a pension for his action from Abraham Lincoln – Alexander 372-5.

✓(6) Refusals on American whaler captain on Rangiroa to J.W. interpreter for slaves – W.W. Gill to LMS, 3.8.63

✓(7) Captain of Latourde-Trévelle warns that all Peruvians, Chileans and Spaniards are called by natives HISPANOLES and no distinction is made between them. Fears that in future any of their vessels will be subject to rescue of crews – MT 28.2.63:33.

References

(1) Actions of Espiera likely to lead to massacre of any Spirit or South American ship calling at Tongoroa to refresh – SMH 14.4.63:4; Kuoko'a, 20.12.62

(2) For Chilean view of the Peruvian trade see Mercurio de Tarta, 21.3.63:53. 27.6.63:125.

(3) For fame and mana on Easter Island see Heyerdahl and Ferdon (eds), 68. And add from p.67 that 'among those bedridden were the island king, Kavakoe, and his son Maurata, as well as nearly all the maore, or learned men'. Enormous effect on the island law and ability to read the local script.

(4) Small-pox brought back by returnees on Dumont fort in isolation at Tarawa to spread through Tabuaeran and onward to Makin. Lasting 6 months it killed a quarter of the population of the two islands – Roller 269.

(5) Conversion to Christianity in the Tokelau and Tuvalu Islands tempered the traumatic consequences resulting from the sudden loss of the best part of the community. It gave comfort and resignation to gods still at a time of universal bereavement

(6) '... the population [of Fakaofo] at present is 200, 40 of them are male adults, and 70 female; and the remainder children from 7 years to 12. There has been but one or two births a year for eight years past and we saw only two babies in arms.' – Vivian, J.C 1871, quoted by Hooper and Huntsman 1973:373

(7) Of Atafu, Turner comments, '... I only observed one man who had grey hair. All who would now have been elderly and the aged were bedridden. The population steadily increases. Ten years ago there were only 120 left. Now they number 180.' – Turner 1876, quoted by Hooper and Huntsman 1973:373

(8) Julia Hecht was enforced by Pukapukans resident in N.Z. of the raids of 24 men and 1 woman said to have been taken by the Peruvian slavers; most were from one village. Pukapukans called it te pa i Kalio: 'the gate, or wall (fortress?) in Callao' but did tell me about it – letter of 20.2.75 in Correspondence File).

(9) The Economist 4.6.64, cited in S.M.H. 10.9.64 has an article titled 'Serfdom of the Guano Islands by Spain' in which it is stated that: 'These very islands [The Chincha Islands] have been, and are, chiefly worked by Chinese, kidnapped in the treaty ports, and worked as slaves till they die or commit suicide; and it is only the other day that a regular system of kidnapping by Peruvians was discovered and put down in the Sandwich Islands – put down, however, by short sentences from France.'

(10) The Gilbertese or Tangaroa/Nonikiki and Rokotanga' undoubtedly produced offspring whose descendants remain on the islands today [The languages and physical features of the Penrhyn (and see Nonikiki and Rokotanga) people show distinct Micronesian traits]' – R. G. Lacombe, 'Land Tenure in Rarotonga'. A.N.U. Ph.D. thesis. File 12.

(11) Demonstrate rate of population pick-up after raids, particularly on Nukulaelae (where population figures are so good) and in Tokelau.

(12) Since the raids the women had done the coconut planting in Funafuti.

(13) On Tangaroa the chief Ngatikaro had advised the people of his village, Omoka, from reciprocating; and when all had gone he gathered the remnants of the Tangaroans to settle at Omoka – where they later quarrelled with him – J. Osborne, Journal, 1872. Previously they had lived in three settlements – Crocombe, thesis.

(14) Re the Tokelau Islands, Newell writes: 'Alas! there are but scraps of these ancient songs [i.e. the talafua] in the few legends that remain. These islands were depopulated by the Peruvian slavers in 1863. Almost all who would have handed on the ancient folk-lore of the race disappeared in that great calamity.' - Newell 1895: 607. Newell visited the Tokelaus in 1885 & 1894.

(15) Mangaia: 'The old king was still alive, but he was very feeble. His son, who the slavers took away ten years ago, has returned, but he does not bear a good character, and is given much to drinking and bad company.' - Vivian, J.C., Journal, 1871, SSJ.

(16) Wyatt Gill says Tagauera has no chief as the chiefs perished in Peruvian 1862. 'As there is no chief their tiaka is their natural "head".' - Wyatt Gill 'A Voyage through the Archipelagoes of the Hervey Group' 9 August [?]. SSL or SSJ.

(17) On Easter Island old social order completely destroyed - anarchy & confusion - ignorance of the past, rudimentary forms of religion, disintegration of the social order. Only ruins of a civilization left. End of knowledge. - Metraux, 'The Kings of Easter Island' in JPS (in Red File).

(18) At least one of the returnees from Easter Island was said to be literate and helped to write a rongo-rongo book. - Heyerdahl, Art of Easter Island, p.8, 100, 208 (in Red File).

(19) Nature idea that Towns. Queensland Labour Trade was inspired by the Peruvian Trade through Lima - see Shlet, Robert & the ref. re Lima.

(20) Only one ref. to Fakaofo for Peru - Turner Gouge, Journal, 1876.

CONCLUSION

(1) Nehemiah doubts as to whether he should prohibit men and children from going after men had gone

Introduction to Islands Section

✓(1) Important to get figures of recruits right island to island because historians only guesses (not a little guild). Quote Beaglehole 10,000; Lake on E Chad, Bengfam and Weiss on Gilbert. The Pennsylvania Univ Rio says 750 Polynesians entered the country - Stewart, Chuck Bedford, 29 (copy in File 12).

✓(2) The generally repeated estimate of 10,000 recruits (like on much else - see Lewin) is merely quoted from a guess made by Danielsson.

FIJI

(1) Jennyfan tells FO he had heard of a supposed trade in kalum between Penn and Fiji (Ward, quoting J to Russell, 27.11.62).

(2) FO warns Consul Jones & tells him to warn natives of Pennan activities & report if any (FO to Jones, 25.9.63. cFO 58/98).

NIUE ISLAND

F 11

✓ (1) Capt. Carlo St. Jago of Peruvian Caroline Dolores informed King on Fanning recruiting schooner Mercedes off Pukapuka early April 1863 that on former voyage he visited Niue and took 150 natives on board, made a very quick passage to Callao and returned getting a second cargo; the third time he sent the Peruvians ashore & he was wounded (Pearson, HMS Hecate, Fanning Island, to Kingcome, 8.5.63).

✓ (2) Rev A.W. Murray alleges 160 taken; gives details of recruiting & says some natives shot (Ward 7, quoting him) (see Murray in Expired 19.6.63).

✓ (3) First recruiter was the Peruvian barque Rosa Patricia shortly before 15.12.62. Well armed. Took 'upwards of 50 natives'. Only 20 left when she called off Opea 8.2.63. Terms $61 a. for term of 6 years. (Lawes to LMS, 18.3.63). Lawes says next was in January and took 40, all abducted in pretence of trading (Lawes to LMS, 29.5.63).

50 not necessarily for Niue, of which there were 'upwards of 20'

✓ (4) Second came in March requesting medicine for the captain, who was sick with dysentery. Natives approaching in canoes were fired on and six killed and rest stayed. 'Nearly 200 have been left indoors and outdoors' [meaning of this is not clear] (Lawes to LMS, 29.5.63). This vessel had dysentery on board and went on to Sunday Island (Lawes to LMS, 21.7.63). Date of call 9.3.63. Ship took 19 natives (ibid). This is the ship that took Taole (see under 'Excepts')?

✓ (5) For real accounts of the recruiting raids see J.D. Freeman's personal notes made on 2.7.46, where he notices the effects on Niuean society. Also Lawson, 'The Story of Niue' in the pocket of J.D. Freeman's notes.

✓ (6) For an account of the visit at (4), inaccurate as to numbers taken but containing interesting material on the chief Fata-a-iki & visit of Irish sailor to Lawes for dysentery medicine see S. Percy Smith, Niue-fekai (or Savage) Island and its people (1903): 87-88.

✓ (7) For Niue Island Regulation prohibiting recruiting see Parl. Paper 10.271 (with me in copy).

✓ (8) Samuela, LMS teacher, in a letter dated 31.3.63 to Ella in SMH 11.6.63:5 says 1st ship and 28.1.63 took 33; 2nd ship 9.3.63 took 19 (+1 killed) in a letter dated 30.4.63 quoted in ibid Lawes says 4 ships come taking about 160. (Photostat with me)

Goat on (6)

(40-7 only)

✓ (9) In Lawes to LMS 21.7.63 he agrees with 19 in (8) above for 2nd ship & date and says that she stayed off Sunday Island from 15.3.63 to 1.5.63 & that about 60 died there mostly from Pukapuka.

Landed after 3.8.63

✓(10) Lawes to LMS 29.5.63 says about 130 taken (incl 20 armed males, 1 dresser & 3 assistant teachers). 1st ship in Jan took 40. 2nd in March.

✓(11) James Cowan, 'The Story of Niue' JPS 32:238-43, quotes from Lafoa MS (Lafoa was a Samoan chief who settled in Niue in the 60s as a mission teacher) that there were 2 ships, one taking 50 and the second 40 (p.241). 2nd went from Niue to the Tokelaus & took more men there & from there to Callao. [Presumably he has got the 1st & 2nd ship muddled up]

✓(12) 55 taken from Niue (Gill to Miller, 2.11.63).

✓(13) For visit of Trujello see (18) under Tongareva. From this, taken with Gill to LMS 18.3.63 (see (3) above) it seems that there were 3 abductions from Niue:-

(see Gill to LMS, 18.3.63) (i) By Trujello (November 1862) taking 'upwards of 50' or 'about 50 (men only)'.

(ii) By Rosa Patriana (28.1.63) taking 33

(iii) By Rosa y Carsen (9.3.63) taking 19

or a total of 102 (the evidence makes it almost certain that all were males).

✓(14) 'Young Savage Islanders have always been most anxious to see other lands. Hundreds of young men have gone away in various ships, most of them to return no more. Then the slavers vile work depopulated their settlements of their finest young men.' v. G. Lawes to L.M.S., 10.5.65, S.S.L.

✓(15) Lawes to LMS, 21.7.63 says no one sleeps afte her letter of 29.5.63. This is refuted in her letter of 17.5.64 to LMS. Gill to LMS 18.3.63 quotes 'upwards of 50' as the men taken to date.

✓(16) Turner, George, 19 Years in Polynesia, p.521 'The population may be set down at 4,300 in 1859' [presumably altered from Samuelo]

F

✓ Gill to LMS, 26.1.63

✓(1) 4 Samoans abducted when fishing off Falealupo by Rosa Patricia which ~~had~~ stood off & on on 7-8.2.63 with 20 Samoans on board (30 had disappeared). Petrson, the supercargo, offered a European resident $10 a head for every Samoan he could persuade to go off, & $1,000 if he could take them to an island where he could obtain a goodly number. He was hired for the Tokelaus. (Bird to LMS, 16.2.63, 2.3.63; v.v. Gill Journal dated January 1863). Petrson was an American from Baltimore and the ship was chartered to Higginson, a wealthy British resident.

✓(2) April 1863 Boat from renegade came ashore at Satava (on the N coast of Savai'i) with a European friendly resident on Samoa as interpreter. Said they were from a whaler & traded on generous terms for local produce. Promised $1 a head, 2 chiefs & 18 men went off to get more goods in a large native boat. Boat hoisted up, goods opened & sailed off to Sydney. One man got ashore & another seized & 5 got ashore from below, then called interpreter & said they would sell him first & take ship (only 16 on crew) unless boat lowered. This was immediately done & they left, having taken articles bought for barter (Bird to LMS 5.6.63; Pratt to LMS 21.6.63)

✓(3) Only 2 Samoans had been kidnapped (minutes of LMS meeting on Savai'i 4.6.63)

✓(4) 3 slavers off Savai'i on 12.5.63 (Williams to FO, 16.6.63 FO 58/99).

✓(5) Gill sees Rosa Patricia en route to Tokelaus (Gill to LMS, 18.3.76)

✓(6) 6 from Fakaofo released at Tutuila (Bird to LMS, 29.5.63) Rising Sun licensed as a load (SMH, 3.6.63).

✓(7) Ships frequently round the coast (SMH, 3.6.63). (Empire 19.6.63: 2).

TONGA

NIUAFO'OU

✓(1) In Parl. Paper dated 12.6.73, Capt. Moresby, who visited Niuafo'ou in 1872, set thee a Mr F. Axsian, Samoan trader & resident for 1½ years, who told him that 'five years since an American schooner called' & under pretence of taking islanders to Fiji to cut sandalwood induced 30 men to go on board. Have since heard of 'suffered taken to Sunday or Rasue (?) [Raoul?] Island to work in Peruvian guano islands'. Evidence corroborated by head missionary teacher, who spoke a little English.

✓(2) Letter from Niuafo'ou referred to Rafu (Green to LMS, 1.4.64).

✓(3) Moresby (p. 61) was informed on Niutoputapu that the Peruvians had called but got no one.

TONGA

'ATA

✓(1) 19.7.63 General Pain (3) an fun island of Frenately (or Frenately) [Friendly Friendly Islands] with 174 natives (Ward 10). This is formally (officially) the Holdait which turned blackbinder and abducted 130 men, women and children from Tonga (after 27.5.63) - (SMH 4.12.63:2 and (6) under 'Recruiting Entrepreneurs').

✓(2) This is an unverified Admiralty source on the 'Ata raid.

✓(3) The remaining inhabitants of 'Ata were removed to Ha'atua on Eua for safety, and never returned.

✓(4) J.D. Freeman gives 150 natives taken from 'Ata in his personal estimate of Polynesian recruits. He also gives 130 on the same page as in (1) above.

✓(5) See also the letter from the Rev. Ward, 30.12.47, in the packet to Freeman's notes. Ward believed one returned & that they were lured or bound in expectation of trading & that 200 were removed to Eua.

COOK ISLANDS

TONGAREVA
OR MANGARONGARO

(1) Population reduced from 700 to 60 (Royle to LMS 17.5.65, SSC) 1862, 1865

(2) People lived on 3 islets and ~~[illegible]~~ in 2 left but now on 3rd (whole thing).

Remnants (~~[illegible]~~ mostly women & children) brought by leader on 3rd islet to live there (Chalmers Journal 4.7.72, 13.9.72 555).

Penrhyn had no chiefs left (as all died in Peru) & LMS teacher was their 'natural leader' (Gill, Wyatt 'A Voyage through the Archipelagoes of the Hervey Group' p.8 [?]. LMS SS Reports).

(3) Wm Thomson, head of British Legation at Santiago, states last lead of Penrhyn natives sold in Callao for $50,000, i.e. $200 per head (Tahiti British Consulate Papers, Brands Letters file 1857–66).

(4) 1865: repatriating ship dumps 111 Gilbertese. Some taken later to Manihiki and Pukapuka but most repatriated to Gilberts, via Fanning, by Bingham (Bingham to Clarke 7.2.78. ABCFM).

(5) 1862: Adelante brought to Callao 83 men, 83 women, 30 boys and 38 children (234 all told). Byrne, her captain, had died on return journey. Natives (i.e. exports) sold at $200 (man), $150 (woman) & $100 (boy), case being taken to avoid splitting families (Ward, quoting F.O. 61/204, no 79; 61/202, no 5; but despatch 121, 28.12.63 in FO 61/211 says 266).

(6) Rev G W Murray alleges 40 taken (Ward 7, quoting him).

(7) In July 1862 a French man-of-war took 130 to Tahiti for 2 years and return, at $4 p.a. for each man, woman & strong child (W.W. Gill to LMS 18.3.63, p.3). This is borne out by Newbury's thesis (161) which states that in 1862 'at about the time of Stewart's arrival in Tahiti efforts were made to reduce local production costs by subsidising migration from other islands. 98 came from Penrhyn on the local naval schooner Latourde-Treville and were sold to planters at 20 francs a head.' (Newbury, thesis, p. 161)

(8) It was later in the same month (July 1862) that the first Peruvian recruits took 200 natives and one of the traders off the island & returned to Callao direct (Gill ibid, p.3). This was presumably the Adelante which brought 213 (see (5) above)

(9) Royle and Baff visited T. in 1864 or 5 on the JW & found only 60 + 1 teacher left. At the commencement of the mission there had been 700 + 6 teachers. (Royle to LMS, 17.5.65).

(10) Gill and. a JW 11.3.63 & found island depopulated. (Gill Jand, Rangiroa 1863).
July 1862 130 taken by French warship to Tahiti for 2 years at $4 p m. Agreement with Ngatiharo.
Later in month bark from Callao and. taking 200 to C Crest + teacher Taoiti.
Soon after a brig and. (George Cook, Williams witness) took 35 to collect bêche-de-mer at Titemotuanga (see Fanning). But at Pukapuka had been seen with Peruvians.
Jan 1863 bark (since so July) & brig from Callao took 50-80 + 2 teachers (maybe not)
Feb 1863 another brig & bark arrived but no recruits.

(11) Gill found 88 left + Pere, a European who acted as agent for recruiters. 450 removed since Gill's last visit, estimated 250 by Peruvians (Gill ibid)

(12) The second trip of the Adelante in 1863 brought 77 men, 78 women, 15 boys and 33 little children from Tongareva. SHM 25.8.63:5. (203 all told).

(13) Gill to LMS 18.3.63 states that:-
July 1862 130 taken by French warship as above.
July 1862 (end of) bark taken 200 as above.
Soon after small two-masted vessel to recruit for Tete matazazgi as above, took 35 and another teacher
Jan. 1863 a bark [the Adelante] and brig. Took more than 50 & 1 teacher in each vessel.
Feb 1863 another bark and brig but no one taken. Only a few old people & some children left by then.
About 415 have left, over 250 for Callao.

(14) First Adelante trip brought 83 men, 83 women, 30 boys, 19 girls, 19 male and 19 female infants (or a total of 253) - Reid, Record (Callao), to Sir Thomas Maitland, no. 29, 28.11.62.

(15) Names of 4 teachers taken Haiaau (?-name doubtful due writing); Taoiti (both of Rangiroa); Toa of Atiu; Josia of Rarotonga (Gill, to Miller, 2.11.63). 250 taken from Tongareva.

(16) Adelante returns with 83 men, 83 women, 30 boys & 38 children (a a total of 234, but above are the 19 girls). Estimate sold at $200 for men, $150 for women, $100 for boys. Are taken not to part families. Byrne died approximately 29.8.62 (15 days before arrival). Circumstance of Hawaiian Chargé d'Affaires enclosed. French letter intended to make another (Barter to FO 11.10.62, FO 61/204). French note dated 15.10.62 end in Barter to FO 23.10.62, FO 61/204.

(16) For important account of the Adelante's voyage to Tongareva and back by deposition by Pablo Ganero, previous master, see enc. to Barter to FO 23.12.62, FO 61/204.
38 days to OQUEBA (clearly Nukuhiva), 8 days waiting; 5 natives enlisted & rated by first ship from Callao as previous; 8 days on to Tongareva; sighted Lotonde-Tuvalle day before; 5 natives, upwards of 220 taken without any contract other than verbal agreement to carry them to one of the islands near to work at $4 p.m. and abundant sustenance; 9 days at T; 70 days to Honolulu for provisions & 7 days on to Callao. Previous very short & supplies had to be obtained from 2 ships met en route. Byrne died & 1 woman, & 3 children born.

(17) Robertson reports to Jennyfam that all colonists (202 in all) and by Adelante (2nd trip) were in good health and no deaths on board (Jennyfam to FO 28.1.63, FO 61/210).

(18) 2 seamen (John O'Neil & Charles Winter) of Trujillo reported to Robertson, by Consul Callao, that she left Callao Sept. 1862 & and Tongareva where chief, wife & 2 boys were sent on board & taken by force to act as interpreters. They went to Rakahanga where chief (& friendly others) were left behind. At Manihiki 70-80 men, women & children were recruited voluntarily [clearly these islands are transposed] and at NUAY [Nuie?] about 50 (men only) were also recruited voluntarily. At Rakahanga 'Frank' was recruited against his will but said Bri subject & denied to see Consul. Robertson saw him but found to be one of crew of Trujillo carrying $16 p.m. & had no complaints whatever. He also stated that all colonists came of own free will (Robertson to Jennyfam, 5.2.63, enc. in Jennyfam to FO 9.2.63, FO 61/210)

(19) For repatriation of Jesus & wife (see (15)) see (2) under Rarotonga.

(20) See my notes from the San Francisco Daily Herald for 7.12.53 re the chartering of the Chilean Guy Express by the US Consul, Valparaiso, to go to Tongareva to rescue the crew of the Chilean, including 2 women. The island was then known as the S. American Coast.

(21) Population of Tongareva was 250 in 1871 - Vivian, Journal, 1871.

F 11

(1) 1863. Hecate calls 15 May. Told several ships with Peruvian colours had called for natives but King would not consent (Richards, HMS Hecate to Kingscote, Rakahanga, 16.5.63)

(2) Feb. 1863 Peruvian ship with 4 from Caroline Islands on board induced 2 natives on board when Captain left for Rakahanga, where 1 man came & warned people of his kidnapping (Ibid).

(3) Royle in 1865 says 3 slavers had been to Manihiki but had failed to entrap any of the people. One had been wrecked on the reef there. (Royle to LMS 17.5.65).

(4) 10.11.62 3 ships from Callao, 2 anchored off reef & 1 went to Rakahanga. 12.11.62 ships driven ashore & wrecked: no lives lost. 2 weeks later 3rd ship and 8 took crew off island. Nobody recruited. (Gell Journal Nassau 1863).

(5) Jan. 1863. Bark & brig and. from Callao with large no. of Tongareva on board + native teacher Jonas as interpreter. Many & chiefs offered teachers & chiefs but no recruits. Ships retd later offering $6 instead of $5 p.m. & chiefs tempted but no recruits. Left left in rage for Pukapuka & Tokelau. (Gell ibid).

(6) Feb. 1863. 6th recruiter and. but failed to obtain recruits (Gell ibid)

(7) 210 Manihiki islanders died on Fanning & due to return (Gell ibid).

(8) For Trujillo visit see (18) under Tongareva.

(9) HMS Hecate in 1863 found a population of 400-500 on Manihiki - Nautical Magazine 37: 451.

COOK ISLANDS — RAKAHANGA

F11 (1) On arrival at Rakahanga Master of John Williams told that 85 had left on a Callao ship & 4 youths induced to go on board for Lorient & left (W.H. Williams to George C. Meller, Tahiti 21.4.63). c.1863

F11 (2) c 1863: 2 Peruvian vessels said to have been wrecked here, one being the Caroline Delores (which left Pakefaka in April 1863) – (Richards, HMS Hecate to Kingcome, Fanning Island, 8.5.63). But see Manihiki (4).

(3) 1863. In Feb. Capt of Peruvian ship (with 2 Manihiki natives on board – see Manihiki (2)) not ashore to try & get natives to recruit, but Rakahanga man who swam ashore told them he had been kidnapped. Ship fired on him and others in the water, whereupon they kept Capt in custody until the whole were given up. One of vessel shown on E one 1 [?at with me] (Ibid). But see Manihiki (2).

(4) 1862. Capt told Richards that in Oct. 1862 91 taken, with their consent and his on condition that returned in one year and employed on light work getting otter (Ibid)

(5) 1863 In Feb. King & 17 natives induced to go on board whereupon hatches put on & below while King & rest escaped ashore. 1 of 8 also got away but 7 taken (Ibid).

BD Clark of the George Scott c 27.1.63 (6) King let his son go with 'Mr Clark, Master or Supercargo of one vessel' on promise of providing education and return within a year (Ibid).

(7) Richards took one newly fired to natives [enclosed]. Master of J.W. told natives no hope of any being returned (Ibid)

Trugeller (8) Tairi, only tender left, says in Nov. 1862 brig and. from Manihiki – see Manihiki (4) – 50 taken (extra families) to plant sugar cane & return in 1 year (Gill, Journal, Nassau 1863)

Adelaide (9) Later in Nov. 1862 brig & bark and from Callao, full of Tagaroans. Took 30 (extra families) (Gill ibid). See Manihiki (5).

George Scott? (10) Feb. 1863 another brig & bark but Tairi & chiefs said no one could go. But 7 boys induced & taken (Gill ibid). See Manihiki (6).

(11) Gill says 320 on Rakahanga at his visit (5.3.63) & 60 on Fanning 'who likely tainted' (Gill ibid). Estimates 87 taken by recruiters (Gill ibid). [50 at (8), 30 at (9), 7 at (10)?] Number 87 confirmed in Gill to Meller, 2.11.63

(12) Robertson (Grand, Gallion) had seen a extract made by a chief & missionary for 40 men & 12 women brought from the island of RAKABU (formerly Rakahanga) formerly by Trujillo (Robertson 11.1.63 in Jennings to FO 28.1.63, FO 61/120) refuting arrival of Grand Prix & Trujillo (all differed in good health & had come of their own free will).

(13) Robertson refers to Jennings that all colonists (202 in all) and by Adelante (2nd trip) were in good health & no deaths on board (Jennings to FO 28.1.63, FO 81/210).
[should be (17) under Tongareva].

(14) For visit of Trujillo see (18) under Tongareva, where 2 on board before that 70-80 were taken by this ship.

(15) From all the above I conclude that :-

Trujillo took 76 (42 m, 20 w, 14 c) Official figure for 50 at Tahiti all sex.

Adelante took 30. (transferred to the brig)

Brig in Feb. took 7 (7 m).

or a total of 113 (or 99 excluding children).

This agrees with the High Chief's 91 in October and 7 in February, plus Frank the sailor on the Trujillo (but excluding children) and it agrees with men landed (excluding 50 from Tahiti) by Trujillo! But it implies that Tamio's estimate of the 1st recruit was shot by 26. 'King's son' was formally at a recruit.

'and with the deportation of O'Neil & Winter.

(16) That the Trujillo was recruiting at Rakahanga & took on board the crew of the Caporaac and Immediate Costar is stated in the Messager 27.6.63. The captain was later captain of the Chilean Moche, also engaged (unsuccessfully) in the trade (ibid)

(17) Lucas to CMS, 21.7.63, says to see slaves and his letter of 29.5.63 also reported in his letter of 17.5.64 to CMS. Gill in his 18.3.63 quotes 'crowds of 50' as the number taken to date.

(17) H.M.S. Hecate in 1863 found a population of 340 on Rakahanga – Nautical Magazine, 37: 451-2.

COOK ISLANDS

PUKAPUKA

F.11

(1) c. 1863. LMS Teacher states Callao ship took 150 & later ship 10 (W.H. Williams to G.C. Meller, Tahiti, 21.4.63).

F.11

(2) Fanning Island recruiting schooner visited Pukapuka early April 1863 and found Peruvian Caroline Dolores (Capt. Carlo St Tayo) there who said he was off as soon as he had got required number of natives on board (Capt Pulardo; HMS Hecate tsr. Kingcome, Fanning Island, 8.5.63).

(3) Contract signed by B.D. Clark of Brig George Sarah dated 27.1.63 to engage 80 male islanders at 4 dollars p.m. for agricultural and domestic service. One month's wages paid in advance (Enc to Ibid, with me). For B.D. Clarke see Recruiting Entitlements (5).

F

(4) John Williams reached Pukapuka 23.2.63 & found that in latter part of January a brig from Callao had arrived & took off 77 men & 3 women through Paddy (European living on island). Told for 2 years at good wages & then to be returned. 8 bottles of cloth for head paid in advance & left on island. 4 also presents to chiefs (W.W. Gill, Journal, January 1863). All picked men. Ship to return for wives (see Gill to Meller, 2.11.63)

(5) 2nd ship and little later. 50 men & women + 10 children taken allegedly to make coconut oil on Palmerston & thence to Sydney. Paddy left on this ship (he had once lived on Palmerston & believed to have invented story). Gill believed ship was Rosa. (Gill, ibid)

(6) Gill estimates 140 taken by Peruvians (Journal, January 1863). Confirmed 140 in Gill to Meller, 2.11.63.

(7) Sequence of calls: 27 Jan Jorge Zohara; little later Adelante (?); 23 Feb John Williams; early April Caroline Dolores & Manilla

(8) Ngatemoarai of Penrhyn was the teacher 'entrusted by' Paddy and went to Peru on the Jorge Zohara. Paddy went on the 2nd ship later. (Gill to Meller, 2.11.63)

(9) The second ship was the Rosa y Carmen en route for Easter Island and Pukapuka to the Tokelaus.

(1) Ward states some interesting cases from Rarotonga (Ward 10).

(2) Tosia & his wife and from south Pacific claiming to be from Rarotonga and seeking British protection. They number a little English. Said Macare was their chief on Rarotonga. Jennifer sent the to Prefect of Callao for repatriation who put them on Barlow Grey. Tosia said wished one ship Br. protection (Jennifer to FO, 11.8.63, FO 61/212). Tosia (or Josia was taken from Tongatiba & was interpreter or secretary). Evidently had master in Peru.

COOK ISLANDS

ATIU

(1) c. 1863. Chief's son set off to Collao vessel with 8 others in a canoe, which was broken up. 5 clinged up when to ship & Brown (well known resident in Cooks) called to throw 4 to one in boat, but they soon sank. Ship then sailed with the 5 (L.H. Williams to G.E. Miller, Tahiti, 21.4.63).

(2) See account in S.M.H. 13.10.63:3 from Gell, Rarotonga, 1.7.63.
This barque went on to Apia and Sandy Island.

(3) The Empress (of Rarotonga fame) was the ship which visited Atiu (Miller to Vodelosse 16.6.63)

(4) The incident at (1) took place at Rarotonga and not Atiu (SHM, 13.10.63). At Atiu only one was buffeted (ibid).

(5) Two Atiu men on the Rosa Patricia (Bird to LMS, 16.2.63) Possibly survivors - see account of visit to Tokelaus.

(1) Gill meets Mangaians at Rontinga (19.3.63) & learns that recruiter had been. Boat off in canoe to bring Captain ashore. 5 'reduced unconscious' (apparently chloroformed) & stowed below & 6th jumped overboard & made shore in canoe. King's eldest son & successor among those taken (Gill to LMS 18.3.63).

(2) There is a letter account in a letter from Gill dated Mangaia 1.7.63 & reproduced in the SMH 13.10.63: 3. On the next page there is an account of a second ship

(3) The Express (of Marquesas fame) was the ship involved in Mangaia (Miller to Wodehouse 16.6.63).

(4) For correspondence re King's son see Miller to Gill & other photocopies of letters from Miller with me

(5) Dauda & other Mangaians repatriated by French warship Decaen bound for Papeete but as smallpox broke out after leaving Callao was landed in Marquesas (Miller to Gill 15.10.63).
4 but 1 had died (FO to Miller 21.8.63) (Miller to FO 15.10.63 FO 58/99)

(6) 2 other ships from Callao had visited Mangaia after Tavita had been taken but neither had obtained any recruits (Gill to Miller, 23.3.63, enclosed in Miller to FO, 30.4.63 (FO58/99).
Date of Tavita's abduction 25.1.63.

(7) 1871 'The old king was still alive, but he was very feeble. His son, whom the islanders took away ten years ago, has returned, but he does not bear a good character, and is given much to drinking and bad company' – Vivian, Journal, 1871, SSJ.

AUSTRALS

RAPA

✓(1) Messager de Tahiti reports judicial investigation on Peruvian CORA, captured by natives (Ward)

✓(2) Cora detained at Tahiti (Miller to Jerningham 3.3.63, in FO 61/204).

✓(3) See E. Albert Hanson; Rapan Lifeways, pp. 32-33; Green to LMS, 1.4.64; and Missionary Magazine and Chronicle (Sept. 1864), pp. 264-267.

✓(4) For an account of the capture of the Cora and its journey to Tahiti see the Messager 24.2.63 (in book JDF) The Guillermo had also called at Rapa.

✓(5) From Jerningham to FO 28.4.63, FO 61/211 it appears that the Esperza called last at Rapa before arriving at Huacho for Francisco and Rapa. As she landed 55 men and 8 women and is known to have recruited 26 men in the Marquesas, 5 at Atiu and 5 at Mangaia, it seems that she obtained 19 men and 8 women at Rapa. Probably this would have been forgotten in the chaos of the Cora's voyage?

✓(6) The Cora was the 6th slaver to call at Rapa (Messager 21.2.63:30) – see (8)

✓(7) The Moste was at Rapa (from Easter Island with recruits) on 1.4.63, which an account of its isolation was, like Easter Island, well known to the Peruvian slaver trade [as a place for refreshment] and was therefore the rendezvous of the Moste. The prisoners from the Cora on the island told them what had happened to their ship. The crew decided to leave the ship on three grounds (1) the certainty that the natives were hostile; (2) the danger of capture by the people of Rapa; and (3) the distress of the ship. The captain decided to sail for Tahiti. Captain Bizingaitia had formerly been on the Trujillo when it was recruiting at Nukuhiva and Rakahanga and took the crew off the wrecked Apuarua and Manahiki (Messager 27.6.63) Moste sold as mangarelle Messager, 18.7.63:140

✓(8) If the Cora was the 6th ship to call at Rapa it is probable (?) that the other five were there at Easter Island (less the Carolina and Hermosa Dolores, who returned to Callao) and that they continued on their filibustering expedition through the islands.

✓(9) $600 awarded to the Rapans for their coverage and shell Green to LMS, 1.4.64.

MARQUESAS GENERAL

✓ (1) Capt of Lalonde - Treville cruised extensively in Marquesas in search of kidnappers, who he said had done much harm in many islands. R C missionaries had warned natives, but Tahiti paper [presumably Messager de Tahiti] says she got 26 natives (Ward 6 and FO 61/211, no. 58).

✓ (2) At RUA-POUA [Uapou] Empresa got natives drunk and then raised anchor. British naturalist & officer in charge of natives protested at harsh treatment of natives and were bound and removed in Marquesas.

✓ (3) French Commissioner at Tahiti had documentary evidence of abductions in Marquesas (Ward 6).

✓ (4) The best account of the Marquesas recruiting by the Empresa is in the SMH 29.6.63:5, taken from the Messager de Tahiti 7.3.63. Total taken 26; by fraud 21; of free will 5.

19 (11m+5f)

(1) Mapou: 14 taken 'by open violence', remainder swam league to shore: Entered on board with help of Oturu and dosed with brandy & opium (but not strong enough). 5 forced into hold. (See Messager, 28.2.63:3a)

(2) Hivaoa: 6 stupified by stronger dose; (3) at Vaitahu on Tahuata 1 taken by a stratagem (Idem: 3 5).

(4) where the 5 who went freely came from is not stated (not one from Nukuhiva).

Nichols, an American, engaged to procure natives (200 wanted) at 10 piastres each. Cam, the interpreter, & Duncan, the Immigration Agent, are mentioned for insisting that orders of Francesco Carvarone, the charterer, not to take natives against their will, should be adhered to. Captain & doctor then proceeded to kidnap. SMH 29.6.63:5 & The Empire (Sydney) 29.6.63

✓ (5) Full name of Empresa was Empresa de Lima. For that and arrest of Captain see Miller to Lima, 26.6.63 & other Miller correspondence.

✓ (6) according to the Messager for 28.2.63 a total of 19 were taken from Mapou (11 males & 8 females).

✓ (7) For Eliza Mason in Marquesas (Hivaoa and Fatuhiva) at end of October 1862 where the captain tried to recruit 300 see declaration of Antonio Guerra at p. 47 of microfilm translations. She was 24 days from Callao which she left on 3.10.62, and therefore and at Hivaoa on 27.10.62. All, i.e. (1)-(11) are published in El Peruano, 30.3.63.

✓ (8) For Adelante in Marquesas (Hivaoa and Nukuhiva), on Nukuhiva 10.7.62 see ditto, p. 46. She recruited a boat's crew of 5 at Hatiheu on Nukuhiva

(9) Jorge Zahara and at Hatiku in Nukuhiva c. 17.10.62 with the 5 boats' crew ex Adelante - see ditto, f. 46.

(10) Manuelita Costas and Pounou in Huraca on 17.10.62 and 18.10.62 at Hatiku on Nukuhiva where it stayed until 21.10.62 (3 days). Antonio Guerra left the ship there and one native joined. Details of amount and crew - see ditto, f. 46.

(11) All these ships apparently loaded coconuts - ditto, f. 43.

(12) Empresa flew British flag at Nukuhiva - Robertson to Jennyfam, 15.5.63.

(13) For note on the return of the crew of the Jorge Zahara see French Consul to Prefect of Callao, 15.5.63 (8 at end of MF).

TUAMOTUS GENERAL

✓(1) Latouche - Treville hears at Anaa that Tuamotuans had seized launch of Mercedes A de Wholey sent by him to Papeete in charge of natives (Ward 5).

✓(2) Mercedes A de Wholey captured in Tuamotus in December 1862 by Latouche - Treville. They had illegally [because French territory] enlisted 150 natives & a French subject (Ward 6).

✓(3) Serpiente Marina also detained by French, but crew allowed to return to Penn (see (5) under Mangareva).

✓(4) Mercedes de Wholey seized by French when taking away 151 Tuamotuans. Taken to Tahiti (Ward 10).

TUAMOTUS

MANGAREVA

W

✓(1) at Mangareva Captain of Latouche-Treville learns that at least 3 Peruvian ships had called, but missionaries had frustrated their recruiting plans (ward 5).

✓(2) 8.1.63: ship flying Mexican flag calls. Pilot boarded & some islanders in issue.

✓(3) at AKAV-MAM (probably part of Mangareva) attempt to get natives failed. French flag flying. [Possibly the quasi not inhabitant island - often Mangareva itself - is the lagoon, called AKAMARU].

✓(4) Captain of Latouche-Treville said he left Gambier Islands with reduced confidence.

✓(5) Separate Mangareva alerted by French & charged with using 'undue' methods when recruiting in Gambiers (Ward 10). See (3) under Tuamotus-General.

ELLICE ISLANDS

GENERAL

(1) Native Louis Becke's reverse about pop. being been 20,000 but not counted off by Princess slavers.

(2) On Nukufetau Tuffety the slavers had succeeded only to a very small extent in their efforts to entrap them. By some means they had been put on their guard, and only three were captured, and two of these escaped at the island of Rotuma, and found their way back to their own land.' Murray 45 years missionary work... p. 386 Population about 300.

ELLICE ISLANDS NUKULAELAE

(1) Probably the most reliable account is that given to Moseley by Peter Laban, the German trader who had lived there since 1857 but was temporarily off the island from 1860–1864. Population in 1857 = about 470; 1864 = 50 old men & women & some young children. A few months before his return 3 large Spanish barges called & an old man speaking Polynesian came ashore [Tom Rose?] telling the people they were missionary ships & missioners invited all men to come on board & receive the Sacrament. All able bodied went & were detained. Ships boats then went ashore & women & children told their husbands had sent for them; also seized. Two young men jumped overboard & swam ashore. No recruiting ships called since. (Imperial Parliamentary Paper re Outrages dated 12.6.73: 163).

(2) Murray in The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle (Dec. 1865) pp. 335–345 'Missionary Voyage to the Lagoon Islands' states Sept. 1861 (when Elekana came from Manihiki) was about 300; 10.5.65 = under 100. 2 Peruvian ships Gouknourrer (Capt. Lopaz), General Layfell (Capt Garsee) [Lopez & Garcia?]. 1st story to go to island to make coconut oil. 2nd to go where they could learn 'about God & religion'. Rose was living ashore & persuaded people to go with him. About 200 carried off. Nov. 1866 Sept. 92, nobody after was settled.

(3) Essentially same story in Murray 45 years mission work ... pp. 381–2, but adds that they took the Rarotonga New Testament & Hymn Book left by Elekana, with them.

(4) Essential to explain that after visit of Stuart (Murray 383) they had burnt their Gods & after Elekana (ibid 375–380) were waiting for a mission teacher. This was what Rose took advantage of.

(5) Louis Becke in World Life in Southern Seas (1897): 19 ff. says that he met an escapee from Nukulaelae in the Las Matelotas Islands (?), Caroline Group. He had escaped from Peru in an English guano ship to Liverpool and after years in American whalers had married a girl of Les Matelotas & raised a family. He was 'sorely tempted' by Becke's captain's offer of a passage to N. but islanders would not let him go away to wife & children.

(6) Turner 1878 (PMB 129) says 250 were taken & 65 left. In 1878 pop. was 104.

ELLICE ISLANDS

FUNAFUTI

(1) The 2 Nukulaelae ships called here, with Tom Rose as interpreter. Oil mining & then gold digging suggested, & finally people invited to join them from Nukulaelae & go to learn about God. Foreigner either tried to prevent people from going but 180 left, leaving about 100 + 20-30 from Vaitupu. (Murray in Missionary Magazine cited at (2) under Nukulaelae).

(2) Murray in 45 years mission work, p. 385 repeats this & says 180 went & about 100 left (mostly women & children). Gods already destroyed. Elikana had visited en route to Samoa.

(3) Moresby in Port Pofer 12.6.73: 163 says he visited island 15.7.72 & informed 250 carried off & one head of state

(4) Turner 1878 (PMB 129) says 170 taken on pretext that they were being taken to school on a neighbouring island and would be retd in a month.

(5) Westbrook, speaking of Funafuti, says that 'It was and that there were three ships working together under the Peruvian flag. Two would enter a fort or lagoon and get the islanders aboard by pretending to be bona fide traders. After then capture the unlucky natives were taken out to the stor-ship, which was kept well out of sight during the first part of the schedule, and finally transferred to the main cargo awaiting them.' Dove, Gods who Die, 169-70.

TOKELAU ISLANDS GENERAL

✓(1) Tokelau Islands had been almost depopulated by 7 slave ships in all. 2 Samoan teachers asked to remain for present (minutes of LMS meeting at Savai'i 4.6.63).

✓(2) Best account of the Tokelau recruiting is by P.G. Bird in a letter to LMS dated Savaii 29.5.63. It covers all 3 islands.

✓(3) See J.D. Freeman's note dated 2.7.46 for an unfolding account of the sufferings of a Tokelau Island escaping from a ship by cutting through an unsound plank. They later watched the ship sink (apparently with all hands).

✓(4) Lubbock, Bully Hayes ... (1931): 102 (f'n) says: 'The worst of the whole fleet was probably the Express, a beautiful 400-ton clipper barque of the true slaver type, commanded by a terrible type of a captain with one eye, Spanish officers and a crew of twenty men of every nationality. This vessel began operations at the Duke of York [Olosega] and Duke of Clarence [Nukunonu] Islands, where she landed armed parties and proceeded to round up every human being on the two islands at the point of the bayonet. The terrified Kanakas were driven down to the beach and taken aboard the barque, so we being left on the islands except a few old white-headed men, some aged women and tiny children'.

Express

✓(5) In Parl. Paper 12.6.73: 162 Moresby says while at Nuuafo'ou he was told by the German trader F. Axenon, from whom captain, who had visited the Tokelaus that one ship visited Quiros Island (Olosega) 'and by persuading the simple islanders that they were going to be taken to learn the Bible and be made missionaries of, they induced every man and woman and child to come on board, and thus depopulated the island. The islanders were taken it is believed to Sunday Island.'. But numbers on Olosega not stated.

✓(6) Murray alleges 60 taken (ward 7, quoting him). See Murray in SHM, 20.6.63.

✓(7) 7 ships visited Tokelaus (meeting at Savaii, 4.6.63).

✓(8) For the one returnee to Fakaofo see Turner 1878 (PMB 129)

✓(9) Turner 1878 says 247 m, w & c taken (PMB 129)

TOKELAU ISLANDS FAKAOFU

(1) Murray visited it on 24.8.68 (1st time since 1861 due to loss of women ships). People dazed in no settlement. Recruiters had taken 116, and 3 returned. Mostly men taken but plenty of children on island. Total on island 'under 200' in 1868. (Murray 40 years..., p. 429).

(2) Samuel Ella in SMH 5.6.63:3 refers to 90 taken from Fakaofu

(3) Population assembled in front of teacher's house by armed party from ship & upwards of 40 selected & driven to boats & taken off. Vessel then called at Tutuila for water but when people ashore found out she was a slaver they seized the cutter. Captain then sent 6 of Tokelau natives ashore & later sailed off leaving cutter (3 men died; 3 now in Apia – presumably those in (1) above. 1 brother of Fakaofu chief with his son). Returnees said only 7 adult males left on island. (SMH 3.6.63:5, quoting letter from Gee, Apia, 1.4.63).

(4) Bird to LMS, Savaii, 29.5.63 states 3 Fakaofu natives and at Ulufolu from Tutuila. 3 of 6 sent ashore were ill with dysentery & men died. Mafala (Samoan trader in F.) had returned & was staying with Bird. 12.2.63: 1st ship came, men went ashore armed with guns & swords & frightened people. Took 16 of first men. 2nd vessel, and shortly after & took 44 men. Then 3rd took 4 men & 76 women & children. Then 4 ships one after another 'but nothing was left worth having'. Total taken 140; total left 6 men & 30 women & a few children. 'Left because not worth taking, they deserved, or old and infirm'. 2 RC teachers brought by first from Wallis taken & 1 left because deserted (all were natives of F.). Samoan teachers & families unmolested & no violence offered. Mafala retd to Samoa & Sakaio remained. Dysentery taken to F by JW & 64 out of pop. of 261 died: 'I decided this from the moment we landed the deserted Fakaofoans in January'. [Of 261 = pop. & 64 died & 140 taken the 6 men + 30 women + 21 children = 57 were left].

(5) Newell in A.A. ad Sci VI (1895) 687 says 247 in all taken, & many died of consumption shortly after. Few legends or ancient songs survived depopulation. Newell visited Tokelaus 1885 & 1894. But Newell was widely quoting Turner 1878 (PMB 129) who says 247 taken from Tokelau & accounted

TOKELAU ISLANDS NUKUNONO

(1) 'About 30' taken by recruiters; none had returned by 1868. Population in 1868 'about 150-160'. (Murray, 40 years . . . p. 430).

(2) Bird to LMS, 29.5.63, states that when he was visiting his outstations 5 men, 5 women & one children and from Nukunono. 5 recruiting ships had been there. 1st took 60; 2nd 6; and 3rd 10; leaving about 20 on island. They said 'foreigners infested them like animals, casting aside old and diseased, and handling off all the others on board ship'. Pounder left for Samoa in 2 final canoes, including Ovelia the chief & the RC teacher. RC
Priest went for Samoa to settle on N. but found island deserted. all had been RCs & refused to have LMS teacher. Total taken 76.

TOKELAU ISLANDS ATAFU

✓ (1) Best account is in letter from LMS teacher Maka dated 16.2.63, quoted in full in SMH 5.6.63:3. 35 taken (Oli, the chief, & 34 men). 6 adult males + women & children left. Capt. told men to take coconuts & fowls to ship to barter for cloth, shirts & trousers. On annual fund list (red cloth, white & blue calicoes, shirts & trousers) displayed in hold + saw a deck. Told to choose. When all in hold lost Oli he was thrown in too & hold closed. Report was of 2 men returned in ship of captain (see (3)). Ship had called at Apia & was evidently the Rosa Patricia (also was 20 Tuvaru?)

✓ (2) Samuel Ella in ibid states that 2 days later another ship came & captain offered Maka 4 gold coins + cloth for some men; then tried to force him on board. Then landed armed party & threatened to burn village if people did not come out of hiding. 2 men came out & were dragged on board.

✓ (3) Bird to LMS, Savaii, 29.5.63 quotes Maka's letter of 26.2.63. 1st slaver took 14 men, including Fozi, the chief, & 2 sent ashore as too old & weak. Story of capture substantially same as (1). Men struggled in hold but 5 Europeans with sundo overcame them. Some other men thrown overboard by captain; one struck with sword & another stabbed in eye & blinded. Maka's letter dated 26th, not 16th as in (1), & first slaver came on 16th Feb. 18.2.63 2 more ships came, the first being 2-masted. Capt. came ashore & said he had been to Tagarewa, Nukuhiva & Pukapuka, & that natives had been taken from them by other vessels, incl. Okatai, the teacher on Pukapuka. Maka offered money for men, but said men taken & only women left. Maka then saw 3rd ship, a 3-masted, approaching. It sent boat ashore during night to tell people to bring nuts to sell for shirts & trousers. 2 boats next a 2. Capt. & crew French + Australian had & foreign called Pole. Maka refused 4 gold crowns & asked to go to other 2 islands. Finally compelled to write note to teacher on Fakaofu. Finally women ran into bush but threatened that crew would burn village & destroy all the people. Finally 2 lads taken off get ashore & finding women. 34 men taken & only some & children left. (Letter from Maka to Nicolet)

a different letter to (1)

✓ (4) Blue also had the first recruiter was a European living on Olosenga (Bird to LMS, 30.3.63)

(1) & (2) 35 + 2 = 37

✓ (5) Turner 1878 (PMB 129) says population had increased by 70 since slaves, but no old people, as all taken.

Easter Island

EASTER ISLAND GENERAL

(1) SMH 14.4.63 has the Tahiti Govt report of their enquiry on the Rofa voyage of the Cora, signed by Savergnat. 'Cora' dep. Callao 29.11.62 (or 4.12.62), arr. E I. 19.12.62 (20 or 16 days passage). Met 7 other ships there. Captain, feeling that pursuit would not get them enough islanders, determined on force.

23.12.62 24 (including 7-8 from Cora) landed under command of captain of Rosa y Carmen. (Captain's name is then described)

(2) The Fried 2.11.63 lists the ships involved as:-

Cora (Rofa, Pitcairn, assigned by Fried)
Rosa y Carmen (Sunday Island etc.)
Carolina (Retd Callao 25.1.63)
Jose Castro (Returned for most part)
Dolores, (i.e. Hermosa Dolores). (Retd Callao 25.1.63)
Guillermo
Rosa Patricia

(3) The SMH 25.8.63 adds the Mercedes Miranda, and also that the:-

From El Comercio (date not stated)

(a) Carolina brought 122 recruits from Oroa after a passage of 28 days (as she arr. Callao 25.1.63 she must have left E.I. 28 or 29.12.62).

(b) Hermosa Dolores brought 160 from E.I. in 29 days (as also departed Callao 25.1.63 she must also have left E.I. about 28.12.62).

Her islanders were obtained:-

15 from Guillermo or 25 — only to Sept. to FO 28.1.63, FO 61/120, quoting Crónica de Callao
20 from Mercedes Miranda 28
45 from Rosa Patricia 45

45 arrived by Patricia's story (Gill to CMS 18.3.63).

and the remainder from the:-

Jose Castro
Rosa y Carmen
Cora — 22 (see (4) below) M, 21.2.63: 30.

(4) It is relevant to note that from official figures:-

(a) Cora left Callao on 29.11.62 (Cora enquiry at (1) gives 4.12.62)
(b) Carolina, Guillermo and Hermosa Dolores on 5.12.62
(c) Jose Castro and Rosa Patricia on 6.12.62
(d) Rosa y Carmen on 7.12.62
(e) Mercedes Miranda on 9.12.62.

✓ This suggests that the decision to obtain the E.Is by force was a premeditated conspiracy entered into at Callao, and that the ships then left together for their arranged rendezvous at Easter or on or a less the same date.

✓ It seems also certain that the Orora of the Carolina was in fact Easter Island (Easter or Paqueq of the Eliza Mason; Independencia of the Teresa; Pay-Pay of the General Prim; Hayram of the Resolucion (?); Neeua of the Unmarcta y Rosa (?))

✓ (5) From the above a reasonable passage time:-

(a) From Callao to Easter Island was 13-15 days.

(b) From Easter Island to Callao was 28-29 days.

Round Trip say 43 days (?) see below (7)

✓ (6) Note that Captain Saquategue of the Eliza Mason maintained that his 176 labourers were all volunteers and testified that when he saw the array of ships lying up at E.I in Dec. 1862 he left (McCall, quoting Messager de Tahiti 30.11.63) as he left Callao on 3.10.62 and returned on 26.1.63 (i.e the day after the Carolina and Heroina Dolores he could have been off E.I when the kidnap started).

✓ (7) Ships which certainly brought Easter Islanders were therefore:-

✓ (1) Eliza Mason 3.10.62 - 26.1.63 (116 days). + 238 Easter Islanders.

✓ (2) Teresa 25.10.62 - 21.2.63 (120 days). - 203 Easter Islanders.

✓ (3) General Prim 26.11.62 - 6.1.63 (42 days) - 126 Easter Islanders.

✓ (4) Carolina 5.12.62 - 25.1.63 (52 days) - 203 Easter Islanders.

✓ (5) Heroina Dolores 5.12.62 - 25.1.63 (52 days) - 160 Easter Islanders.

✓ (6) Jeresa and 9.3.63 - 43 Easter Islanders.

Total certainties 973 Easter Islanders.

✓ (8) (7) Bella Mengarita 4.10.62 - 24.11.62 (52 days) - 154 Easter Islanders

(all adults 142 men, 12 women) Total certainties 1,127 Easter Islanders

(sold for average of $300 each) (From Parua (?))

- Reid, Mead, Callao to Sir Thomas Hetland, no. 29, 28.11.62.

✓ (9) That the Independencia Island of the Teresa was in fact Easter Island was stated by one of the crew (Jennings to Miller, 13.3.63).

✓ (10) Authority for the General Prim's cargo being Easter Islanders is The Friend, 2.11.63. She belonged to Ugarte & Santiago.

(11) J C Williams (British Consul at Apia) states of Hidroffino: 'Easter Island was been rendezvous and the supercargo [of the Peruvian bark Rosa Patricia] said that he had already sent 45 natives from various islands there to await the schooner' (Ward, quoting Williams to Bennett, 10.2.63; also publish Williams to Gordon, 4 Sep in FO 61/215)

(12) Report reaches Tahiti of combined attack by men of 8 vessels, led by Rosa y Carmen on Easter Islanders in Dec. 1862. Several natives killed (Ward 6). Coza another fortunate. (Ward 10).

(13) Rev A W Murray alleges depot formed at Easter I. after many of its natives had been carried away; and schooner flies from there to mainland while other ships collect natives. (Ward 7, quoting him).

(14) c May or June 1863 (i.e. after cessation of traffic) Barbara Gray arr with 23 natives (w. 9)

(15) Rosa Patrina returned 45 & sent them to Peru in another ship (Gill Journal August 1863). See (1).

(16) Schooner cited at (1) was the natives schooner Hermosa Dolores, which brought 160 on 25.1.63: 15 ex Guillermo, 20 ex Micaela Miranda, 45 ex Rosa Patrina & rest ex Jose Castro, Rosa y Carmen, & Coza, all off island when she left. Islanders expected no trouble & to have set fire to lands adjoining shore & retreated into interior. (SMH 25.8.63: 5).

(17) Lubbock - see Tahiti Is: General - says Empresa took 25 women & 40 children off Easter. [illegible]

(18) For good account of the combined attack see Miller to HBM Chargé d'Affaires, Lima, 3.3.63 (photocopy with me)

(19) 196 men, 7 women & 2 boys on General Prim and 5.1.63 offered in good health & had come of their own free will (Ac in Thompson to FO 28.1.63, FO 61/210).

(20) Barbara Gray to repatriate Easter Islanders + others (very few French subjects) - MG

(20) When the Cora was captured at Rapa they found on board a 6-year old Easter Islander and were told that 22 other E. Is had been transferred to another vessel - see (3) above. Messager 24.2.63:30.

(21) Guerra de Collao, quoted in Jernyhan to FO 28.1.63, FO 61/120, gives an account of the process of the attack at E.I. but J says that Pelerton, Consul Collao, reports that all colonists and of Gaulois & Heroine Deleles were in good health with no deaths on board

(22) For the Moste and the Jose Castro off Easter Island 12th March, 1863, and on, see the Messager, 27.6.63. It is evident that a second raid was made on the islanders in March 1863 which resulted in the Jose Castro securing 30 islanders as her share of the booty (ibid). All escaped from the Moste except 2, who were released at Papeete. The Jose Castro was in both raids returning to Collao 21.4.63.

(23) Important to remember all who came from Easter Island were not Easter Islanders for it was a depot after December 1862 (Empire 19.6.63:2).

(24) Palmer, J. Luter, 'A visit to Easter Island' Proc. R.G.S. v. XIX, no. 2 [June 187], pp. 108-119

Position and size of E. Is often used. Palmer visited them on H.M.S. Topaz in 1868

(25) Suggest that the Jose Castro went to Rapa after the first raid and finding nothing during returned to Easter Island to conduct the second with the Moste see (22) The second raid netted several hundred islanders of which the Jose Castro's share was 30 - m 27.6.63:125.

Gilbert Islands

GILBERT ISLANDS — GENERAL

File 1

(1) Bingham speaks of 'the partial depopulation of Tapitenea, and of some other islands in the southern portion of this group, by so-called 'slavers' from Chile or Peru, or perhaps from both ... Capt. Fanshawe confirms the statements respecting Tapitenea.' (Bingham, 20.10.63, in the Missionary Herald for August 1864: 244).

'Capt. Verso', who came across 4 Peruvian recruiters at Butaritari & estimated 400 recruits to leave the nearest ship, thought 'thousands must have been taken from the Gilberts'.

File 1

(2) In actual fact it appears that the Chilean brig Ellen Elizabeth recruited:-

(i) from Oneteora about 50
(ii) from Teronti about 25
(iii) from Tabiteuea 12 women and 1 man = 13
(iv) from Arorae about 50

Bassett joined the ship at Nonuti on 9.3.63. Fulling was aly on the repatriation voyage.

Left Gilbert Group with 161 recruits but were forbidden to land them at San Jose Lambayeque, and after a 3 months wait were told to repatriate them. Finally 110 were landed on Tongareva, the rest having died from cold, hunger and ill treatment. (Deposition of Adolphus Bassett enclosed in J.C. Williams to FO, 19.6.64).

Deposition of John Fulling in ibid says 111 landed at Tongareva; Royle to Directors of LMS, 17.5.65, agrees with this figure and states that he took 35 of them to Manihiki and Rakahanga to relieve the congestion on Tongareva.

(3) The Gilbertese (or those who had not settled by then in the southern islands) were later recruited by Gregg & Bicknell for mining concessions on Fanning. At the expiration of their engagement they arranged (falsely thought Bicknell's brother on Hawaii) that the mining S/Ship should repatriate them on its next voyage to the Gilberts, at their expense. Bingham approved but the ABCFM later objected to the deception (boys often all was over) (Bingham to Clark, 7.2.1878 in F 23).

(4) For other references to this episode see Royle to LMS, 22.8.64; 17.5.65.

(5) Royle and Baff visited Tagaroa in the JW during 1964 or 5, where they found 111 strangers, 'the wonder of the very large number stolen away from their numerous homes'. '... the naked forms, wild utterances, strange and uncouth appearance of these newcomers effectually enlisted our sympathies and we prevailed upon our fellows to take as many of their number as would of their own accord follow us, in the mission barque. We departed thence with 35 and succeeded in finding for them very comfortable lowtuna with our excellent teachers at Rakahanga and Manihiki.' (Royle to LMS, 17.5.65).

(6) See also J.C. Williams to FO in FO58/102.

(7) The Ellen Elizabeth arrived at Tagaroa on 25.1.63 and left again on 3.2.63. (Messager de Tahiti 27.6.63: 126).

THE SUNDAY ISLAND EPISODE KERMADECS

(1) See Lawes to LMS, 21.7.63, from which it appears that the ship had visited Pukapuka and sailed direct from Niue to Sunday Island to land natives and family ship. The ship stayed at Sunday from 15th March to 1st May. About 60 died mostly from Pukapuka.

(2) Most detailed account is from N.Z. schooner Emily in SMH for 21.8.63:7. The ship had returned from Atafu, Nukunonu, Niue, Manihiki, Pukapuka and Easter (about 25 men and 40 children for Easter)

(3) See also SMH for 25.7.63:7 – apparently Paddy Conley was the vaccinator. Was said to have died soon after landing.

(4) For another account, with some new details, see F Rodes Pageant of the Pacific, vol II, p.164. It also quotes the Emily. There is a short account in Percy Smith, Niue – Hetuai (or Savage) Island and its People (1903):87-88, which gives connexion with visit to Niue & Tacle being on board.

(5) The large barque was the Rosa y Carmen. It was a Spanish ship and the coffins and most of the officers were Spaniards. Paddy Conley was on board. The R.C. catechist was formerly from Nukunonu.

(6) Reference to be cited re the Emily's refit at (2) above is:–
Rhodes [1936]: II: 64-65.

(7) "The New Bedford whaler 'Rainbow' (Capt. McRolls) saw the 'Rosa y Carmen' at Sunday Island. 130 had died by then, and 70 were alive." [When this note was on my desk it was in my handwriting so from whence? mystery].

(8) See Lawes to LMS 21.7.63 for statement that 60 (mostly from Pukapuka) died on Sunday Island. Stay was 15.3.63 – 1.5.63